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WALL STREET IN HISTORY *

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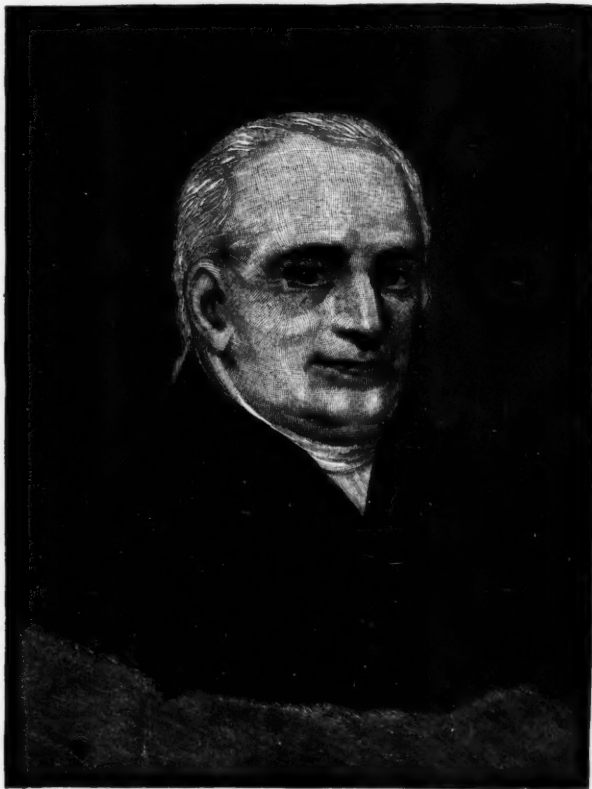
A CLOUD settled over Wall Street with the first dawn of the Revolution. The residents were subjected to an endless variety of panic and disturbance. All the freshly awakened impulses and activities gravitated toward the City Hall, the chief seat of every commotion, the soul of every political movement. The one thought of the hour in its blazing intensity seemed to consume within itself all other ideas common to the public mind. Tyranny and resistance were topics flying from lip to lip, in every quarter, among all classes, in polite circles, in the workshops, at the fireside, and in the street. Some were for peace at any cost, caring little whether America was ruled by a crowned head over the water, or a crown of heads on this side, so that the business and pleasures of life met with no hindrance; others were for principle regardless of pecuniary, personal, or domestic considerations. Friends disputed, quarreled, and separated, and households scattered. Sharp controversies in the hitherto charmed home circle caused members of the same family in numerous instances to range themselves under different banners. Disputations among servants and laborers ended in riotous proceedings. The violent heats in the Assembly drew crowds into Wall Street to listen to the debates, and to criticize results. The legislators were about equally divided on the question concerning the appointment of delegates to the Second Continental Congress. The opponents of the measure pronounced the action of the first Congress "treasonable," and flatly refused "to repeat an experiment which would be nothing less than open treason in the broad light of day." By a small majority they won the victory. But real power cannot be pushed aside and fettered. The determined minority saw a way in which their purpose might be accomplished, and presently were foremost among the citizens in taking one of the most heroic steps of the period. A Convention was resolutely called to elect the delegates, the

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counties co-operating with the city, and Lieutenant-Governor Colden despairingly told the English ministry that it could not be prevented; the royal government was powerless in the matter, since "it was the action of individuals in their private characters, and beyond the energy of the laws." At this Convention leaders were chosen in whom the people trusted; and while there was many an after tilt between the leaders and the people as to whether the leaders should lead the people or the people the leaders, the selection furnishes unmistakable evidence of wise, thoughtful discrimination on the part of the real leaders of popular opinion. The election was conducted with dignity and in an orderly manner; and the mass of the people were satisfied that the new delegates were in no humor to shirk responsibility or hasten war.

The very day after the Convention adjourned, news came of the affair at Concord, and the battle at Lexington. It was Sunday, but Wall Street was precipitated almost instantly into a state of alarming confusion. One of the chambers of the City Hall contained a quantity of fire-arms and military equipments, purchased by the corporation a few years before; these were hurriedly taken into custody by the "Liberty Boys"—of whom were McDougall, Lamb, Willett, and Sears—who retiring into an alley near by formed into a city guard, and patrolled the streets. Some vessels laden with supplies for the English troops at Boston were boarded by this *ad interim* force, and their cargoes speedily unloaded. Within a few days, or as soon as messages could be sent to the different counties, a committee of one hundred men of eminence was chosen to direct the general affairs of New York until a provincial congress could be elected. Daniel Phoenix was one of this famous committee, whose name is identified with the history of the Wall Street Presbyterian Church, of which he was a trustee from 1772 to 1812, and the manager almost exclusively of its financial concerns. He was after the war the city treasurer or chamberlain, and was also connected with every mercantile institution of his day. In all these early attempts at self-government we note judicious, uniform, and systematic management. At the same time there were elements that could not be controlled. So fierce was the bitterness between friend and foe that neutrality became intolerable. Men were compelled to show their colors. Loyalists were pursued with merciless rancor. More than one instance is recorded of men being carried through Wall Street on rails. It was unsafe at this juncture to breathe a syllable against the American cause. Rev. Charles Inglis, rector of Trinity Church, was forbidden to pray for the king and royal family. He could not comply with such an order without violating his oath and the dictates of his conscience, and was

greatly embarrassed. He was accosted and insulted in the streets, and finally his life was threatened. One Sunday morning the dwellers in Wall Street were appalled by the appearance of a hundred and fifty armed men, who paraded up and down from Broadway to the East River, and back again a few times, and then marched deliberately into Trinity Church with



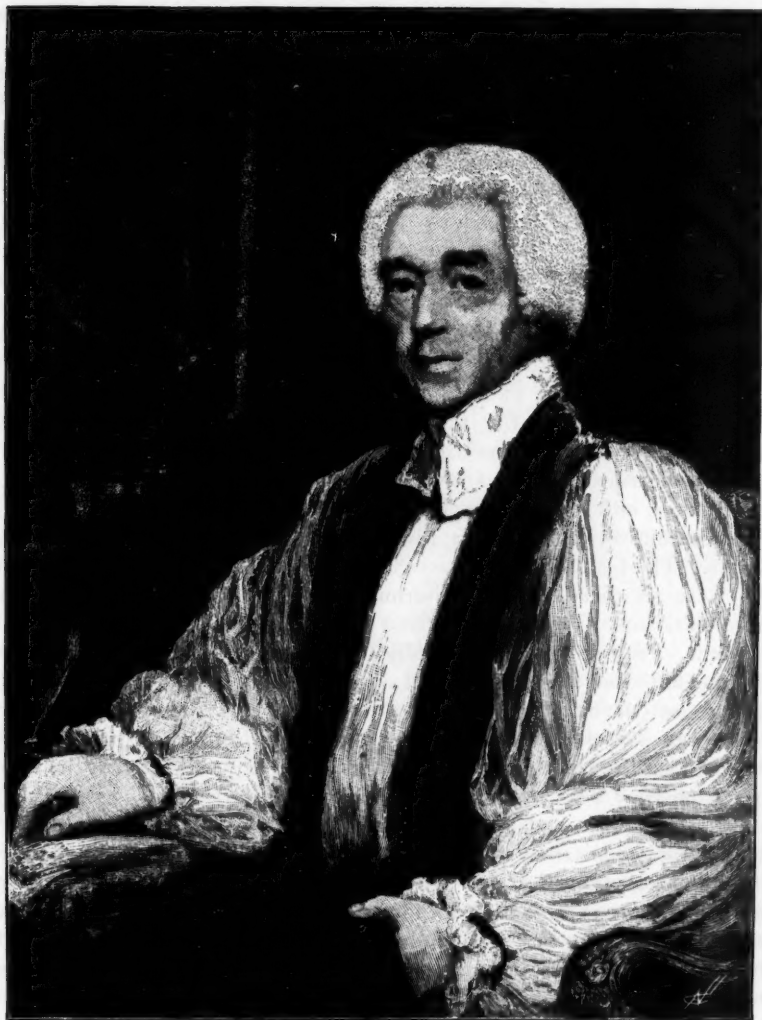
DANIEL PHOENIX.

drums beating, fifes playing, and bayonets glistening on their loaded muskets. It was just at the opening of the morning service, and it was well understood that the object of this hostile demonstration was to compel the rector to cease praying for England's monarch; the terrified congregation expected the preacher would be shot down in the sacred desk should he

have the temerity to mention the king in his supplications. But with unfaltering courage Mr. Inglis proceeded to the end of the service, omitting no portion of it, and received no personal injury. The vestry of the church compromised with the angry revolutionists by agreeing to close the Episcopal churches of the city altogether for the present. It proved to be the last public religious service ever held in the old Trinity edifice, which was reduced to a heap of unsightly ruins in the great fire of 1776.

Another exciting scene in Wall Street was at the reading of the Declaration of Independence, by order of the New York Congress, at White Plains, July 18, 1776. This document had been read at the head of each brigade of the Continental army on the 10th, by direction of Washington, and the destruction of the equestrian statue of King George at the Bowling Green was on the evening of same day. But the ceremony at the City Hall was an emphatic expression of New York in particular, and the more notable from the fact that the ships of the enemy had actually arrived and anchored in the harbor; and for twenty-four hours prior to the event, women, children, and infirm persons were, through Washington's advice, being hurried from the city in anticipation of a bloody conflict. The newspapers of the day chronicle the presence of thousands of listeners to the reading, who filled the air with huzzas of joy, and then burned the king's coat-of-arms in a huge bonfire kindled for the purpose, having torn the tablet from the wall of the old structure.

With the occupation of New York by the British, Wall Street residences were many of them vacated by their owners and inhabited by the red-coated officers. Judge Jones tells us that the British soldiers "broke open the City Hall, and plundered it of the college library, its mathematical and philosophical apparatus, and a number of valuable pictures, all of which had been removed there by way of safety when the rebels converted the college into a hospital. They also plundered it of all the books belonging to the subscription library, as also of a valuable library belonging to the corporation, the whole consisting of not less than sixty thousand volumes. This," he says, "was done with impunity, and the books publicly hawked about the town for sale by private soldiers, their trulls and doxeyes. I saw an Annual Register neatly bound and lettered, sold for a dram, Freeman's Reports for a shilling, and Coke's First Institutes, or what is usually called Coke upon Littleton, was offered to me for 1s. 6d. I saw in a public house upon Long Island nearly forty books bound and lettered, in which were affixed the arms of Joseph Murray, Esq., under pawn from one dram to three drams each." Judge Jones further says: "To do justice even to rebels, let it be here mentioned that though they were in full possession



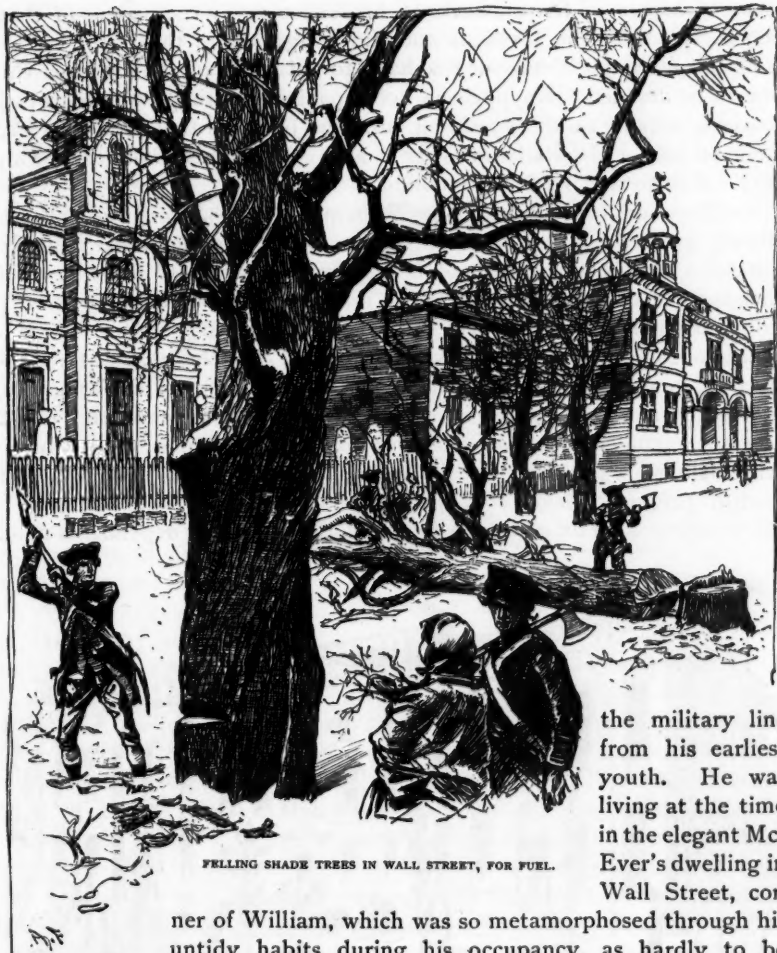
THE RIGHT REVEREND CHARLES INGLIS, D.D. THE FIRST PROTESTANT BISHOP IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.
CONSECRATED FOR THE SEE OF NOVA SCOTIA, 1787.

of New York for nearly seven months, and had in it at times above forty thousand men, neither of these libraries was ever meddled with, the telescope which General Washington took excepted."

The great fire left its blight upon the street, although its track was to the west of Broadway. The ghostly spectacle on the site of Old Trinity was constantly before the Wall Street eye for the next eight years. The Wall Street Presbyterian church, in which Whitfield had once poured forth the torrent of his eloquence, was uninjured by the flames; but it was shortly converted into a hospital for the British soldiers.

The winter of 1779-1780 was one of the most cheerless and severely cold ever known in New York latitude. The snow began to fall about the 10th of November, and continued to fall, attended by piercing winds, nearly every day till the middle of the ensuing March. In the woods the snow lay at least four feet upon a level, and it was with the utmost difficulty that trees were extricated for fire-wood after being felled. The distress occasioned by the scarcity of fuel was terrible. Poor people burned fat to cook their meals, gardens and fields were shorn of their ornamental and fruit trees for firewood—apple trees, peach trees, plum trees, cherry trees, and pear trees were ruthlessly chopped down on every hand. The situation seemed to justify the proceeding, and owners made no complaints. The beautiful shade trees in Wall Street, some of them a century old, were sacrificed, felled indiscriminately, and consumed in the Wall Street kitchens. Provisions became so costly as to exhaust the purses of the rich. Fifty dollars would hardly feed a family two days. The British generals implored the farmers of Long Island and vicinity to bring their produce into the city, but they paid little heed to the prayer. The Hudson was frozen so solid that an army with the heaviest artillery might have crossed it on the ice. One of the writers of the day tells us that the whole river from New York Bay to Albany was "mere terra firma." And the ice was equally thick and strong in the East River. The Sound at New Haven was frozen across "the whole thirty miles to the Long Island shore, with the exception of about two miles in the middle." No man living had ever before seen New York Bay frozen over from the city to Staten Island; but now more than two hundred heavily laden two-horse sleighs crossed on the ice in a body at one time, escorted by two hundred horsemen. The British men-of-war in the harbor were hopelessly ice-bound and could not move.

Sir Henry Clinton went south in December to reduce Charleston, leaving Knyphausen in command at New York, a rough, taciturn old veteran, the commander-in-chief of the German forces, who had served his prince in



FELLING SHADE TREES IN WALL STREET, FOR FUEL.

ner of William, which was so metamorphosed through his untidy habits during his occupancy, as hardly to be recognized when its proprietors returned. He had many peculiarities, not least among which was the use of his thumb in place of a knife at table to spread butter upon his bread. His exploits, planned and executed during the winter, degenerated into midnight forays into New Jersey and elsewhere; his men being able to cross on the ice and return under cover of the darkness. It was impossible for the Americans to guard the entire long stretch of New Jersey shore, and some of those barbarous raids fur-

the military line from his earliest youth. He was living at the time in the elegant McEver's dwelling in Wall Street, cor-

nished a chapter of horrors never to be forgotten by the people of that generation. Both the Hessians and the refugees were the terror of the whole surrounding country—it was hard to tell which of the two was the more to be dreaded. Knyphausen accompanied his troops on one or two occasions, notably on an expedition into New Jersey in the spring of 1780, where he had a singularly mortifying and ignominious experience, with which all cultivated readers are familiar.

Sir Guy Carleton reached New York in April, 1782, and was enthusiastically greeted by the inhabitants, who were suffering under military oppression, frauds and all sorts of abuses from unprincipled placemen and officials. He commenced the work of reform with commendable celerity and great vigor, and discharged, so we are told by Judge Jones, "such a number of supernumerary barrack masters, land commissaries, water commissaries, forage masters, cattle commissaries, cattle feeders, hay collectors, hay inspectors, hay weighers, wood inspectors, timber commissaries, board inspectors, refugee examiners, refugee provision providers, and refugee ration deliverers, commissaries of American, of French, of Dutch, and of Spanish prisoners, naval commissaries, and military commissaries, with such a numerous train of clerks, deputy clerks, and other dependents upon



THE M'EVER'S MANSION, WALL STREET, IN 1800.

Residence of General Knyphausen during the Revolution.

[From an old print.]

the several offices aforesaid, with pensioners and placemen, as saved the British nation in the course of one year only, about *two million sterling*." His chief work, however, was preparation for evacuating the city, articles of peace having been duly signed in Europe.

At this juncture Wall Street presented a sad picture. "The semi-circular front of Old Trinity still reared its ghastly head, and seemed to deepen while it hallowed the solitude of its surrounding graves," wrote Mr. Duer in his description of the return. "At the head of Broad Street we descried the City Hall in its primitive nakedness; nearly opposite was the modest dwelling of (afterwards occupied as a residence by) Alexander Hamilton; and at the intersection of Smith (now William) Street, erect upon its pedestal, was the statue of the elder Pitt, mutilated and defaced, in resentment of his speech against the acknowledgment of our Independence."



Grey Carleton

But Wall Street was one of the first localities in the city to take a bath, so to speak, and array itself in new clothes. The rust and the rubbish disappeared like dew in the presence of a clear sun. The City Hall was renovated, and the courts opened. The first mayor after the Revolution was James Duane (whose portrait appeared in the Magazine for May), and under his administration the Mayor's court suddenly, and by common consent, acquired a business and an authority scarcely contemplated by the statutes creating it. Litigation suddenly became more lavish than any other department of industry. All sorts of knotty legal questions arose—the more perplexing through the destruction or removal of records, and consequent indistinction of titles. Then came the confiscation of

estates, and the swift mutation in the relative value of money and property of all kinds. Richard Varick was the first city recorder in the new order of things, and Duane's successor in the mayoralty. The Legislature assembled in the City Hall in January following the evacuation, and the presiding officer of the Senate was Pierre Van Cortlandt, Lieutenant-Governor of the new State for eighteen consecutive years, the great grandfather of the late Dr. Pierre Cortlandt Van Wyck, superintendent of the Assay Office, in Wall Street, whose sudden death in April of the present year threw a large circle of attached friends into the deepest mourning. Robert Benson, clerk of the Senate through six preceding sessions, continued in that office: he was the brother of Judge Egbert Benson.

Wall Street was now entering upon the most significant period of its history. It was already the seat of fashion, with almost an exclusive claim, and it was also the seat of the State Government. Presently the rumor

came that it was to be the future seat of Congress; and on the 23d of December, 1784, that august body, representing all there was of a national government, actually arrived, and the corporation of the city tendered the use of the City Hall for its sessions, together with such other public buildings as might be necessary for its convenience. Thus when the opening of the New Year (1785) was celebrated, New York was the capital of the nation.

John Jay had just been appointed to the dignified and important office of Secretary of Foreign Affairs. No man, except Washington, at this moment stood higher in the affections of his countrymen. Upon his re-



DR. PIERRE CORTLANDT VAN WYCK.

turn from his successful European mission in July, the whole city was brilliant with festivities in his honor. Wall Street was alive with an enthusiastic multitude as he was conducted to the City Hall and greeted with an address of welcome from the Mayor, and presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box.

As he entered upon his duties he found every step clogged through the want of executive authority in the administration. The whole machinery of government was not only to be devised and constructed, but the tests were to be applied through which it could be kept in successful motion. He organized foreign affairs on a modest scale, but with discriminating judgment, such as served to command for our infant nation the respect of kingdoms and crowns throughout the civilized world. In the midst of his harassing perplexities in May, 1785, he had the proud satisfaction of communicating to Congress an official account of the successful voyage of the first vessel sent from the United States to China—a vessel which had returned in triumph, having established a direct trade with that far distant empire, whereby was given a fresh impulse and energy to every branch of industry. It was an exhilarating commercial event, and naturally produced intense enthusiasm. Wall Street was in a tumult of excitement, and the joyful throng about the City Hall could hardly find voice sufficient to proclaim with shouts its volume of gladness so as to be heard above the ringing of bells and booming of cannon. A triumphal procession, and banners and bonfires added the crowning touches to a spontaneous celebration inspired by a sentiment in which we, even of this day and generation, can generously sympathize.

Before the end of that memorable summer, Wall Street was repeatedly the scene of incidents of peculiar historical significance. Spain bowed her haughty head to the new power; and Spain's first ambassador, Don Diego Gardoqui, reached the capital of the new Republic. Secretary Jay, remembering his own checkered experiences in Spain, must have been exceptionally gratified in conducting the Spanish nobleman to the Congress chamber in Wall Street, where with much ceremony and consequence his commission and letters of credence were presented and read; Gardoqui then addressed the Republican Congress in a happily worded speech, declaring (what every one present believed to be untrue) the devoted affection of Spain's king to the North American people.

From this historic old City Hall emanated instructions for the first United States minister to England, John Adams, who was in Holland at the moment studying the customs and forms of the African governments, and endeavoring to negotiate treaties with Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. It was a decade of beginnings. Secretary Jay had made good use of his opportunities while in Europe, and was at this particular crisis probably, without exception, the best informed man on this side of the Atlantic concerning affairs of state in the other governments of the world. Yet nothing could be copied literally, and the knowledge he possessed must all

be put into the crucible, and melted over, so to speak, before its adaptability to the new want could be determined. Thus it was also a decade of experiments. A hundred years have since elapsed (or nearly), and the stream of correspondence arising from friendly relations then inaugurated with the various countries has been ebbing and flowing, and constantly broadening, until the vast accumulation of material in the State Department at Washington is enough to appal the common mind. It is arranged, however, in perfect order, the system of indexing having been brought to such a high science that any document from any country or person, upon any subject, and of any date, may be found within half an hour. Our first premier, having no precedents to follow, labored under a weight of moral accountability unknown to his successors. Late in the autumn of the same year, Sir John Temple, the first consul-general from Great Britain to the United States after their independence was recognized, was given a reception by Congress, and Wall Street was again in an ecstasy of commotion. Sir John was a native of Boston, and married the daughter of Governor Bowdoin, one of the most distinguished looking women of her day; he inherited his title from his grandfather, who lived and died in England. He resided for many years in New York, and died in New York. A tablet to his memory may be seen in St. Paul's Church, to the left of the chancel.

We cannot pause to mention but a few of the interesting events of this formative period which have made Wall Street notable in American history. But we must not pass by the election of Thomas Jefferson as minister to France in place of Franklin, and of John Rutledge to the Netherlands in place of John Adams. And it was here that the constantly tangling questions about the treaties were discussed from day to day, and measures adopted for the dignified maintenance of what had been secured at such a serious cost. The Spanish ambassador brought proposals from his government concerning the navigation of the Mississippi, which Secretary Jay met with an offer to forbear navigating its waters below the southern boundary of the Republic for a term of twenty or thirty years, but refused promptly and firmly to relinquish the right, which the Spanish minister would not concede. And here was penned the spirited remonstrance to the ministry of Great Britain—of which the world knows very little—against what was interpreted as an infraction of the recent treaty with the parent power; and the demand for the immediate removal of British garrisons from several specified military posts on the frontiers. A secret act was also passed by Congress giving discretionary power to the Secretary of State for one year, to inspect letters in the post office—the supposed motive being to discover treachery, if any existed, in the nature

of instructions from England to the commanders of the garrisons. There is no record, however, to prove that the extraordinary authority was ever exercised.



SIR JOHN TEMPLE.

First Consul-General from Great Britain to the United States after its Independence was Recognized.

The presence of Congress brightened social as well as business aspects. Wall Street was the great center of interest, and was brilliant with showily dressed ladies and gentlemen, in all the colors of the rainbow, every sunshiny afternoon. Brissot de Warville found here every English fashion—the richest “silks, satins, velvets, gauzes, hats, and borrowed hair.” Equipages, he tells us, were rare, but very elegant. The diplomatic and distinguished foreign personages, together with “the concourse of strangers,” he says, “contribute much to extend the ravages of luxury.” But he thought the inhabitants preferred the splendor of wealth, and the show of enjoyment, to a simplicity of manners and the pure pleasures result-

ing therefrom. He informs us that it cost more to live in New York than in France, and quotes the price of board from four to six dollars per week. He further says, "the habit of smoking has not disappeared in this town, with the other customs of their fathers, the Dutch. They use cigars, which come from the Spanish islands, a usage revolting to the French. The philosopher condemns it, as it is a superfluous want. It has, however, one advantage: it accustoms to meditation, and prevents loquacity. The smoker is asked a question; the answer comes two minutes after, and is well founded. The cigar renders to a man the service that the philosopher drew from a glass of water which he drank when he was in anger."

The Holland minister plenipotentiary, Pieter Johan Van Berckel, lived very handsomely in Wall Street, corner of William, in the house formerly occupied by William Edgar. His daughter presided over his household, and they entertained generously. His son, Frank Van Berckel, was something of a swell, dressed gorgeously, drove a large beautiful horse in a high phaeton, and was generally conspicuous. Dr. John Bard, the eminent physician, who was upwards of seventy, drove in a low pony phaeton, usually wore a red coat and a cocked hat, carried a gold-headed cane, and was always attended by a faithful negro as venerable as himself. An amusing caricature print appeared one day representing the white-haired doctor in his little vehicle, passing under the body and between the wheels of the gay young Dutchman's elevated equipage, without touching. It is said that no one relished the humor of the illustration more than Dr. Bard himself.

The French magnates were ornamental in their attire in the superlative degree, and although some of the French writers affected to deplore the extravagance and folly of the New Yorkers, it was certainly impossible to outshine them in the novelties of the toilet. M. de Marbois, M. Louis William Otto, and the Marquis de Moustier, each in succession contributed largely to the style and elegance, as well as the pleasures of society. M. Otto possessed the most agreeable social qualities, and married into the Livingston family. De Moustier was wealthy and was exceedingly fond of display; he entertained frequently and ostentatiously. The daughter of John Adams tells us that he was handsome and polite, but that his clever sister, Madame de Brehan, was the oddest figure eyes ever beheld. As for Sir John Temple, he made it his business to call upon every stranger of note who arrived in the city, as if he were a master of ceremonies, and lost no opportunity of extending the most delightful civilities. The President of Congress, Cyrus Griffin, from Virginia, and his wife, Lady Christiana Griffin, were in the habit of giving ceremonious dinners to twenty

or more invited guests, as often as once or twice every week. Mrs. Smith wrote to her mother: "Public dinners, public days, and private parties,



may take up a person's whole attention if they attend to them all. We have dined to-day at President Griffin's with a company of twenty-two persons, including many members of Congress, etc. Had you been pres-

ent you would have trembled for your country, to have seen, heard and observed the men who are its rulers. There were very few whose behavior bore many marks of wisdom." M. Brissot describes the public characters of that interesting period in few words. He speaks of Secretary Jay as forty-three years of age, and says it would be difficult to find in history a character altogether more respectable. James Madison he calls thirty-seven, appearing hardly thirty-three, "who has an air of fatigue, and his looks announce the censor." He was still a bachelor, and invited distinguished foreigners occasionally to dine with him at his hotel. Hamilton had taken up his abode in Wall Street, and is mentioned in the same breath as six years younger than Madison, but judged to be five years older, who had the finest genius and one of the bravest tempers ever displayed in politics; and a charming wife, who joined to the graces all the candor and simplicity of the American woman. At Hamilton's dinner-table M. Brissot met Rufus King, "nearly thirty-three years old, who passed for the most eloquent man in the United States, but such was his modesty that he appeared ignorant of his own worth." Colonel Duer, Secretary to the Treasury Board, was also at the Hamilton dinner, who, we are told, by our foreign informant, "united to great abilities much goodness of heart;" and General Mifflin, who "added to the vivacity of a Frenchman every obliging characteristic."

It is pleasant to have these worthies thus brought back to the flesh for a brief half hour. Rufus King was elected to Congress in 1784, and was annually re-elected until 1789. In March, 1786, he married Mary, the only and lovely daughter of John Alsop (whose fine portrait graces the May number of the Magazine), then only in her sixteenth year. She was very much admired for her culture and genius as well as for her remarkable beauty. Next adjoining the City Hall to the south stood the large yellow home-stead of the Verplancks, where was born in 1786 the gifted Gulian C. Verplanck, eminent through a long life in law, letters, theology, and politics. His fair-haired young mother, the daughter of William Samuel Johnson, President of Columbia College, died when he was three years old, and he was left to the care of his grandmother, by whom he was carefully reared. Mr. Bryant, in a discourse before the New York Historical Society in 1870, spoke of the grandmother as "a lively little lady, often seen walking up Wall Street dressed in pink satin and in dainty high-heeled shoes, with a quaint jeweled watch swinging from her waist." Secretary and Mrs. Jay occupied the first place in New York society, by reason of his dignified position, and, it might be added, the first place in American society, for no man stood above Jay during the half dozen years prior to

the inauguration of our first President. They entertained every Thursday, gathering about them all that was most illustrious in statesmanship and letters, gave evening parties at frequent intervals, and usually one ceremonious dinner each week—sometimes two. Mrs. Jay was well fitted for these social duties through natural endowments and her long residence in the Spanish and French capitals. The importance attached to the doing of national honors and national hospitalities in the Old World could not be ignored in the New. The necessities of the situation were understood by no one better than Secretary Jay, who guarded the interests of the country in relation to such formalities with scrupulous exactitude. Mrs. Jay was complimented by her contemporaries on every hand as a perfect disciple of the rules of good taste and high breeding. The entertainments chronicled were not idle, selfish, profitless amusements; but in spirit, intent, and result, important links in the chain which was to bind nations together in harmony. Mrs. Jay's invitation list on one occasion is a memento worth reproducing and preserving, since it introduces us to the circle who met at her table, and also to the charmed throng enlivening Wall Street daily—unquestionably among the most effective groupings of brilliant and remarkable people that history affords.*

* General Armstrong, Mr. and Miss Van Berckel, Mr. John Alsop, Mr. and Mrs. Allen, Mrs. Bruce, Mr. Egbert Benson, Mr. Barclay, Miss Browne, Mr. William Bingham, Colonel William Duer, Lady Kitty Duer, Major James Duane, Mrs. and Miss Duane, Major Beckwith, Mr. Pierce Butler, Mrs. and the Misses Butler, Major Butler, Colonel Aaron Burr, Dr. and Mrs. Charlton, Mr. Bronson, Miss Bayard, Mr. Blount, Mr. Constable, Mr. and Mrs. A. Van Cortlandt, Miss Van Cortlandt, Mr. F. Van Cortlandt, Mr. and Mrs. Colden, Miss Cuyler, Governor Clinton, Mrs. Clinton, the Misses Clinton, General Clinton, Mr. Freeman Clarkson, Mr. Streatfield Clarkson, Mr. Levinus Clarkson, Mr. Henry Cruger, Mr. Cadwallader, General Clarkson, Mr. Corbit, Colonel Carrington, M. Chamount, Mr. Dowse, Mr. Dane, Mr. F. de Peyster, Miss de Peyster, Monsieur de la Forest, Colonel Few, Mr. Franklin, Don Diego Gardoqui, Mr. and Mrs. William Grayson, Mr. Gouverneur, Mr. and Miss Gorham, Mr. Elbridge Gerry, Mr. Gansevoort, Mr. Gilman, Mr. Richard Harrison, Col. and Mrs. Alexander Hamilton, Mr. Hindman, Mr. Ralph Izard, Dr. William Samuel Johnson, Mr. Haring, Mr. Huger, Mr. Benjamin Hawkins, Mr. and Mrs. Houston, Mr. Hobart, General Irwin, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Jay, Mrs. James, Mr. S. Jones, Chevalier Paul Jones, Mr. Kemble, General and Mrs. Knox, Mr. and Mrs. Rufus King, Mr. John Watts, Mr. Robert and Lady Mary Watts, Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, Mr. John Kean, Dr. and Mrs. Kissam, Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Ludlow, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis, Mrs. Judge Livingston, Mr. and Mrs. W. Livingston, Miss S. Livingston, Miss Maria Livingston, Mr. Philip Livingston, Miss Eliza Livingston, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, Mr. John Lawrence, Count de Moustier and Madame de Brehan, Mr. Lee, Mr. and Mrs. Ladron, Mr. C. Laidlaw, Mrs. Laidlaw, Major John Rowland Livingston, M. Lattiniere, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Henry Lee, Mr. and Mrs. A. Lee, Miss Marshall, Mr. Samuel Merideth, Mrs. Montgomery, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. and Mrs. Mason, Mr. Mason, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Moore, Mr. J. Marston, Mr. George Matthews, General Morris, Mr. Gouverneur Morris, Mr. James Madison, Mr. William North, Mr. Samuel Osgood, Monsieur and Madame Otto, Mr. and Mrs. Pintard, Miss Pintard, Mr. and Mrs. Pierce, Bishop and Mrs.

But we must not linger at the dinner table, however much the movements in polite and every-day life illustrate the character of an age. From Wall Street were emanating ideas that were to affect all coming generations. The heart of the infant Republic was maturing—the pulses of the great future were beginning to beat with regularity. The versatile and irresistible Hamilton was studying the science of practical statesmanship in his Wall Street home, and ripening for his work through patient attention to facts and a grand generalization of their subtle principles. He could endure, it is said, more unremitted and intense labor than any other man in the country. When the crisis came he was able to interpret essential needs by illustration, and with a boldness without precedent, an electricity of eloquence unsurpassed, and powers of argument evincing the most remarkable maturity of thought, he took his place in the foremost rank of artists in government-making. His influence in the Convention that framed the Constitution is familiarly known. When he returned home he found New York all askew—and he was accused of having perpetrated the worst mischiefs. Then came the educating process; he commenced writing the famous series of essays, entitled “The Federalist,” which, published in the New York newspapers, were copied far and wide into nearly all the journals of America. Associated with him were Jay and Madison. These papers commanded wide attention, influencing opinion everywhere, and they were all written in Wall Street. Gen. Lamb was one of the most powerful leaders of the opposition, and the two parties kept New York agitated from center to circumference with abuse and acrimonious disputation. One morning Hamilton and Lamb, emerging from their homes in Wall Street at the same moment, held an animated discourse in the street, the one slight of figure, youthful, with fair face flushed with intelligent energy, the other a grave, robust, determined looking man, of nearly twice his years. Hamilton urged the absurdity of Lamb’s fears concerning “the abuse of power,” as Washington would certainly be the first President, but Lamb declared that not even a name so illustrious could shake his opposition to the dangerous Constitution.

Provost, the President of Congress, Lady Christiana Griffin, Col. Parker, Mr. Parker, Mr. Charles Pinckney, Mr. John Rutherford, Mrs. Rutherford, Mr. and Mrs. Pratt, Mr. George Read, Mr. Rondon, Miss Van Rensselaer, Mr. Rickets, Colonel Ross, Governor Rutledge, Mr. Remsen, Mr. Sears and family, Mr. and Mrs. Melancthon Smith, M. de Saint Glain, Gen. Philip Schuyler, Baron Steuben, Mrs. Swan, Mr. Schuyler, Mrs. Judge Symmes, Sir John and Lady Temple, Mr. Charles Thompson, Mr. and Mrs. Turnbull, Mr. and Mrs. Van Horne, Mr. C. Van Horne, Miss Betsy A. Van Horne, Miss Cornelia Van Horne, Colonel Richard Varick and Mrs. Varick, Cornelius Verplanck, Dr. Hugh Williamson, Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, Mr. and the Misses White, Colonel Wadsworth, Mr. Paine Wingate, Judge Yates.

We all know the incidents of the momentous decision, when New York adopted the Constitution by a majority of three, and thus turned the pivot in the history of the English-speaking race. Also how the victory of Hamilton was celebrated, and the wonder of the public mind at its own obstinacy, as the prospect brightened. Then came one of the most orderly elections ever known in any country, the election for our first President, without the aid of a nominating convention or any electioneering process whatever. Every voice and vote was for Washington. It is an isolated instance in the history of nations for one man to possess to such a degree the confidence and affection of a great people.

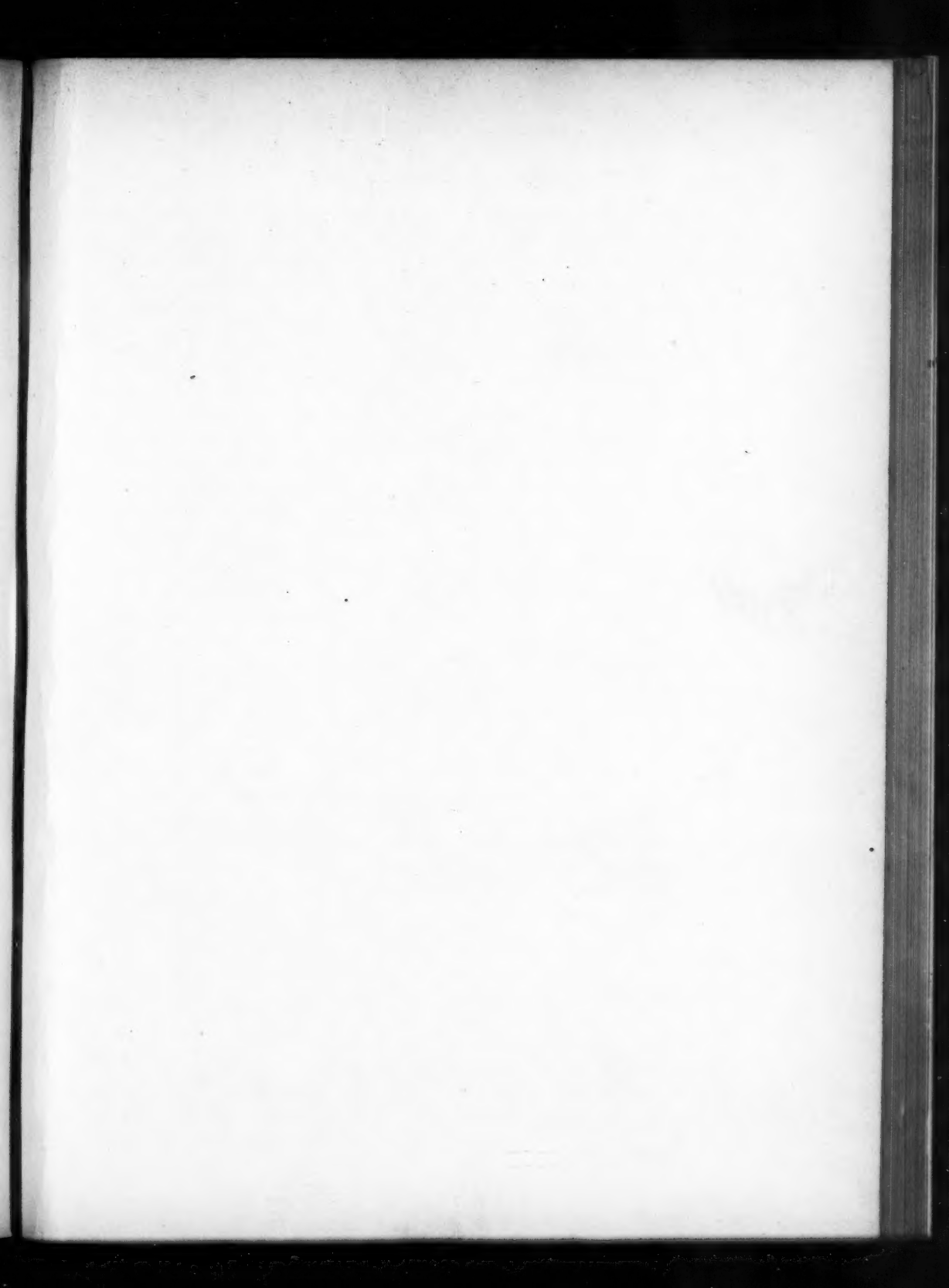
Thirty-two thousand dollars were speedily contributed by prominent citizens for the enlargement and adornment of the City Hall, which, when completed, had an imposing and stately appearance. The basement story was in the Tuscan style, with seven openings; four massive pillars in the center supported heavy arches, above which rose four Doric columns; the cornice was ingeniously divided to admit thirteen stars in the metopes, which, with the eagle and other insignia in the pediment, and the sculptures of thirteen arrows surrounded by olive branches over each window, marked it as a building set apart for national purposes. The Representative Chamber was of octangular shape, sixty-one by fifty-eight feet in dimensions, with an arched ceiling forty-six feet high in the center. It had two galleries, a speaker's platform, and a separate chair and desk for each member. Under each window was a quaint fire-place. The Senate Chamber was smaller, with an arched ceiling of light blue, a sun and thirteen stars in the center. It was elaborately decorated, and its numerous fire-places were of highly polished variegated American marble. The chair for the President was elevated three feet above the floor under a rich canopy of crimson damask. The senators' chairs were placed in semicircles, with the same bright covering. Three windows opened on Wall Street, and a balcony twelve feet deep, guarded by an iron railing, was where the President was to take the oath of office. Meanwhile Wall Street was elsewhere alive with painters and builders; dwellings were repaired and burnished anew, and many new edifices sprung into sudden notice.

Then came the great event, the most sublime in human history, the event which thrilled the whole civilized world. The circumstances through which the Revolution had been successful, and the institutions of liberty established in a new world, were fresh in the public memory. It is not surprising, therefore, that the concourse of spectators who came from every part of the land to witness the ceremony of inaugurating the first chief magistrate of the Union should have exhibited irrepressible delight.

Wall Street, each way from the City Hall, and Broad Street as far as the eye could reach, were filled with a sea of upturned faces—silent as if statues of marble instead of living beings—as the oath was administered to their future ruler, and when Chancellor Livingston cried “‘It is done,’ long live George Washington, President of the United States!” the air was immediately rent with rapturous shouts, and the roar of cannon. In the evening the city was illuminated with unparalleled splendor. Every public building was in a blaze of light. Private residences were brilliantly lighted, none more so than those of the Holland, French, and Spanish ministers. The Count de Moustier’s doors and windows were bordered with lamps, shining upon numerous paintings suggestive of the past, the present and the future of American history, from the brush of Madame de Brehan, the Count’s sister. One of the vessels at anchor off the Battery resembled a pyramid of stars.

Life in Wall Street at once assumed a phase of elegance a notch or two higher than ever before. Property and rents advanced in value. Residence in the street and vicinity was earnestly sought by the congressional dignitaries.* Hamilton was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, and Washington was frequently entertained at his house. Jay was appointed the first Chief Justice of the United States; and Oliver Ellsworth was made chairman of the committee who prepared the bill establishing the Supreme Court. Thomas Jefferson returned from France, and was chosen Secretary of State. Knox was continued in the War Office. Oliver Wolcott was presently appointed Auditor of the Treasury. The organization of this important department naturally occupied much time. Hamilton applied all the skill and method of which he was master to the construction of a plan of indefinite expansion, suited to every object and exigency of the great future. The peculiar formalities observed by Washington in his intercourse with the legislative branch of the government are interesting. He inaugurated the custom of delivering in person his message on the opening of Congress to the two houses sitting in a joint session, after the manner of the King and Parliament of Great Britain. He drove to the Federal Hall on such occasions in a coach drawn by six horses, preceded and followed by officers on horseback, as shown in the authentic illustration; and, furthermore (as recorded in his note-book), “in the rear came the Chief

* The senators and representatives who lived in Wall Street were Elias Boudinot and Lambert Cadwallader, of New Jersey; George Read, Richard Bassett, and John Vining, of Delaware; Joshua Seney, Benjamin Contee, and Michael Genifer Stone, of Maryland; Richard Bland Lee, and Andrew Moore, of Virginia; Edanus Burke, Daniel Huger, Thomas Sumpter, and Thomas Tudor Tucker, of South Carolina; and John Lawrence, of New York. In Broad Street near Wall lived John Langdon and Paine Wingate of New Hampshire; Tristram Dalton of Massachusetts; and Jonathan Sturges, of Connecticut.





WALL STREET IN 1789.

[Reprinted by permission from Mrs. Lamb's *History of the City of New York*.]

Justice of the United States, and the Secretaries of the Treasury and War departments in their respective carriages, and in the order they are named."

A volume might easily be filled with the list of questions arising for adjustment while Wall Street was the seat of the new government. More complex, intricate or profound subjects, or those of greater importance to mankind never came before a body of legislators. The principles upon which alone the nation could survive were here determined, and the initiatory matters of interpretation settled. The blended thought and argumentation of philosophers, orators, jurists, and statesmen, immortalized the locality. And singularly enough, upon the very site of the edifice where the foundations were laid of our whole governmental scheme the marble structure has since been placed which guards the golden treasures of the Union, and Wall Street has been converted into the vital business center of the country, with its financial and commercial roots stretched to the remotest quarters of the globe.

The controversy over the site of the permanent seat of government created no little heart burning. The measure for funding the public debt was pending at the same time. In the end an agreement was reached through which Hamilton's system brought the great national debt into tangible shape, and the city of Washington was founded. Wall Street languished, sadly, after the President's six prancing horses with their painted hoofs were no more seen whirling the elaborately ornamented cream-colored state coach of the chief magistrate of the Union to the door of the City Hall.

But as its political and social glory waned its financial history began. In 1791 the Bank of New York, the pioneer of banking institutions in the city, received a charter from the State legislature for a period of twenty years, with a capital of \$900,000. It was virtually established in 1784 under articles of association drawn by Hamilton. The first president was Gen. Alexander McDougall, and the second president Isaac Roosevelt; the first president under the charter was Gulian Verplanck, the uncle of Gulian C. Verplanck. Its presidents during nearly a century of existence have been in addition to those already named, Nicholas Gouverneur (1799), Herman Leroy (1802), Matthew Clarkson (1804), Charles Wilkes (1825), Cornelius Heyer (1832), John Oothout (1843), Anthony P. Halsey (1858), Charles P. Leverich (1863), Charles M. Fry (1876); its cashiers, William Seton (1791), Charles Wilkes (1794), Cornelius Heyer (1825), Anthony Halsey (1832), William B. Meeker (1856), Richard B. Ferris (1873).

The bank was located in the McEvers mansion in Wall Street corner

of William, upon the site of which arose the building illustrated below. Only once in its history has it passed a dividend, in 1837, when the legislature prohibited all banks from paying dividends. Six per cent. was the rate for several years, but the extra dividends declared at various times makes the average upward of eight per cent. It went under the National system in 1865, since which time the current dividends have been ten per cent.

About the same time the Bank of New York went into successful operation the merchants of the city formed an association for the purpose of providing a business center for the commercial community, and named it in honor of Tonti, a Neapolitan, who introduced a similar scheme into



BANK OF NEW YORK, CORNER WALL AND WILLIAM STREETS.

France in 1653. The Tontine Building was erected in Wall Street, corner of Water Street, between the years 1792 and 1794, at a cost of some \$43,000.

The establishment of financial institutions in the street gradually affected its architecture, as well as its business and general character. The following quotation from a "description of New York in 1800," written

about 1840, is fresh with peculiar interest in certain particulars: "At the corner of Nassau Street stood the venerable Federal Hall, since torn down; a splendid row of dwellings was afterwards put up, and subsequently torn down to give place to the new Custom House, now building. Next below stood the elegant mansion of Mr. Verplanck, the brick of which was brought from Holland; and now in its stead is the Bank of the State of New York. Next was the residence of John Keese, now the Union Bank; less changed than any other building. This, however, on the 1st of May, is to be leveled with the ground, and a new banking-house to be put up. Between it and William Street were the residences of Francis B. Winthrop and Charles Wilkes, in the place of which are the Dry Dock Bank and Bank of America. On the lot where the United States Bank now stands was the elegant mansion of General John Lamb, first Collector of the Port, and father of Alderman Lamb. This was considered not only the finest house, but was believed to be the grandest house that could be built. On the opposite side, where is now going up the new Merchants' Exchange, stood the residence of Thomas Buchanan, Mrs. White, and William C. Leffingwell. Mr. Jauncey, an English gentleman who lived in great style, occupied the building now rented by Messrs. Dykers & Alstyne; his stable is the same building now used by the Board of Brokers. The very room in which millions of stock are sold every week, was then a hay loft.

"The watch-house was kept at the corner of Broad Street, now used by Robinson for the sale of his caricatures. Baker's tavern, one of the most noted public houses, was at the corner of New Street; a club met there nightly for more than half a century. Pine Street has undergone still greater changes; from Water Street to Broadway, every house has been demolished. Then not a store was to be seen. The old French church, the sanctuary of the Huguenots, stood at the corner of Nassau; its surrounding burying yard contained the ashes of many of the most valued citizens. The Wolcotts, Jays, Waddingtons, Radcliffs, Brinkerhoffs, Wells, Reads, and a host of others resided in the street, without a thought that in less than forty, and even thirty years, not one brick then standing would remain on another. In Pearl Street were the fashionable residences of Samuel Denton, John Ellis, John J. Glover, John Mowett, Robert Lenox, Thomas Cadle, John Glendenning, John B. Murray, Governor Broome, Andrew Ogden, Governor George Clinton, Richard Varick, and a great number of others. Nearly all of these gentlemen are deceased. We noticed a few days since one of the number, Mr. Denton, for a long time past a resident of Tennessee. He remarked that he was absolutely a stranger;

knew no one, and could hardly identify a single spot. In Hanover Square stood a block of buildings fronting Old Slip and Pearl Street. They have all been removed. The city consisted of seven wards, now increased to seventeen."

Francis Bayard Winthrop was the fifth in descent from Governor John



PORTRAIT OF FRANCIS BAYARD WINTHROP.

[Engraved from an antique miniature by permission of his grandson, Charles Francis Winthrop.]

Winthrop of Massachusetts, and the son of John Still Winthrop and Jane, only daughter of Francis Borland of Boston. He married the daughter of Thomas Marston, of New York, and changed his residence after the Revolution from Boston to New York, purchasing a beautiful country seat at Turtle Bay.* He also, at a later date, purchased the mansion in Wall street, north-west corner of William, which Van Berkel had made so attractive to society while New York was the capital. This was the city home of the Winthrops for many years, and the resort of all that was elegant and scholarly in

American life. The younger brother of Francis Bayard Winthrop was Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Lindall Winthrop, the father of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston; another brother was Benjamin Winthrop, who married Judith Stuyvesant of New York; also Joseph, who married and settled in Charleston, South Carolina, and Admiral Robert Winthrop, of the British Navy. Charles Wilkes, who lived alongside the Winthrops in Wall street, was nephew of the celebrated John Wilkes, who figured so conspicuously in English politics and Parliament. And the nephew and namesake of Charles Wilkes, born in 1801 in this old mansion,

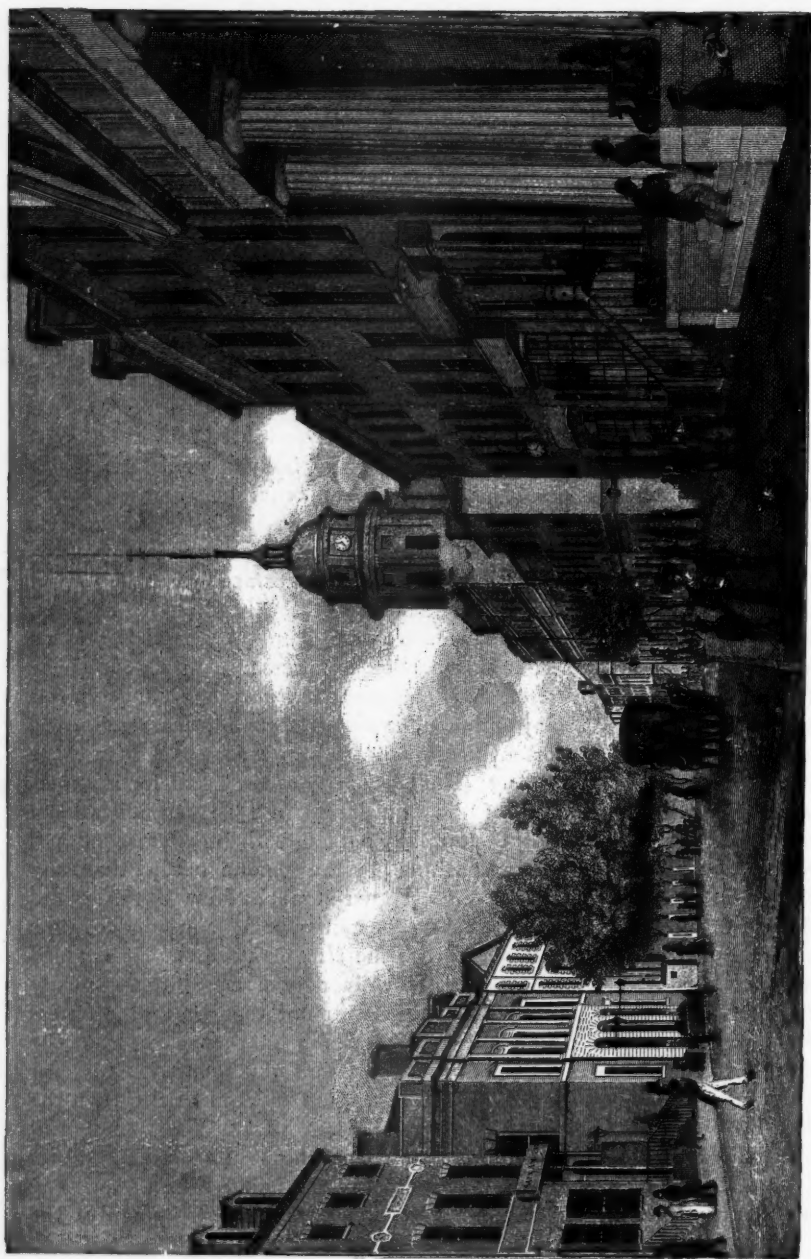
* The second wife of Mr. Francis B. Winthrop was the daughter of Mr. John Taylor of New York.

was the famous naval commander, hero of the capture of *Mason and Slidell* in the late Civil War.

Many pages might be written touching upon events in the early part of the present century which should properly have a place in these chronicles if space permitted. On one occasion (in 1804) Wall Street was heavily draped in the deepest and blackest of mourning, as never before or since. Business was entirely suspended, and men walked to and fro aimlessly and tearfully. Hamilton was dead. The great financier, who had practically established the public credit of the country, had perished in a duel. The bankers met, pallid and grief-stricken, passed resolutions, and closed their doors. The merchants, the bar, the Cincinnati, the Tammany Society, the St. Andrews Society, the General Society of Mechanics, the students of Columbia College, the Corporation of the City, with the mayor, De Witt Clinton, at its head, and, indeed, nearly every body of men that had a corporate existence, solemnly agreed to wear mourning for six weeks. The funeral ceremonies in Trinity Church brought the largest concourse of people into Wall Street that had been seen there since the inauguration of Washington. The final resting-place of the statesman was chosen under the sycamore shades of the sacred inclosure at the head of Wall Street, but a step from where his achievements had been concentrated, and an amount of difficult and laborious service compressed into a short, busy life, affecting all the future of this great monetary center—such service as few men ever rendered to any nation in the longest term of human existence.

Some of the most important institutions of New York, other than those of finance, began in Wall Street. The University of the State, for instance, was here created by an act of the Legislature, in 1784; an educational institution similar to that of Oxford, in England, with broader scope and greater powers (and less comprehended by the general public) than any other on this continent. It was the corner-stone of New York's grand scheme of public instruction, yet it is constantly being confounded, even by men and women of intelligence, with the University of the City, which had no existence in our annals until the University of the State was nearly fifty years old. A concise and scholarly sketch of the rise and progress of this influential institution will be found upon another page, from the pen of Dr. David Murray, Secretary of the Board of Regents.

It was in the picture-room of the City Hall in Wall Street that the New York Historical Society was organized, in 1804. The founders of this time-honored institution represented the highest eminence and culture of New York, and were veritable educators of the public taste. And they were instrumental in directing public attention throughout the land to the



WALL STREET IN 1842.

importance of preserving contemporary records as the data from which all future history must receive its true impress. When this Society was formed, but one institution of its kind existed in America—that of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It occupied a room in the City Hall from 1804 to 1809. Its first president was Judge Egbert Benson; its first vice-presidents were Bishop Moore and Judge Brockholst Livingston, and nearly all its presidents and many of its vice-presidents have since been men of national reputation.

The Merchants' Exchange, in Wall Street, was completed in 1827, and the city Post Office was quartered under its roof. The full-page illustration is from a steel engraving published in the *New York Mirror* in 1832, a little more than half a century ago—the artist looking towards the East River, with the Phoenix Bank on his right and the Winthrop and Wilkes homesteads on his left. A writer of same date mournfully moralizes over the "wonderful mutations and alterations within the course of a century," saying: "This is the street which contains most of the floating capital of the city; and indeed there is little specie to be found anywhere else. This is the mart for bankers, brokers, underwriters, and stock-jobbers. Here are planned and consummated speculations of every shape, character, color, and dimension—from the sale of an orange to the disposal of an East Indian cargo. This is the street, before any other in the city, for speculations, not merely in commercial affairs, but on the characters, manners, and pursuits of those who are thus occupied. This is the street which Halleck has not only hallowed by his lyre, but also by his own commercial labors. For, however it may astonish the reader, poets are not always in the clouds. The day has gone by when genius banqueted on air. That we are correct, take his own words:

" 'No longer in love's myrtle shade
My thoughts recline—
I'm busy in the cotton trade,
And sugar line !'

And :

" ' "Money is power," 'tis said—I never tried,
For I'm a poet, and bank notes to me
Are curiosities, as closely eyed
Whene'er I get them as a stone would be
Tossed from the moon,' etc., etc."

Martha J Lamb

LOST AND FOUND MANUSCRIPTS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

The national archives were enriched during the early days of the present year by a collection of the more important part of the public papers of Benjamin Franklin; the most valuable acquisition since 1849. Between the years 1834 and 1849, by wise provisions of Congress the records and correspondence of the Continental Congress were supplemented by the purchase of seven private collections, at an expense of \$165,000; that is to say, the papers of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, by which the history of the events at home, beginning in the colonial times, and coming down through the second war with England, is told in the most authentic manner by the great leaders of affairs of that momentous period. Rich as are the materials for the history of the negotiations of our envoys abroad, during the Revolution, in the records of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, their despatches report the results rather than the details of their labors; and it has been necessary for historians to search among the state paper offices of Europe for the secret minutiae of the diplomatic tangles and manœuvres of that time, as prior to the acquisition of these the private papers of not one of the first diplomatic agents of the United States had found their way to the public repository. And to whom if not to Franklin could we look for the incidents, which were chiefly of his making, of that extraordinary part of the nation's history? Irreparable would have been the loss had the opportunity been neglected for securing these manuscripts, all alive as they are with the spirit of the American struggle in the cause of political freedom.

To Franklin, less than to any of the great patriots, has the nation paid its tribute. It is therefore very fitting, even as a recognition of his services, as a monument to one of the earliest promoters of independence, that his own words should be employed to do him honor; that they should be enshrined where the relics of other patriots are preserved and repose; with the desk upon which the Declaration of Independence was drafted; with the draft which carries the marks of his pen; with that great instrument itself, bearing his signature; with the original treaties with France concluded by him; with the first diplomatic agreements and the definitive treaty of peace with England; with the Constitution, toward the

confection of which he contributed the powerful results of his philosophy and experience; and with the "fine crab-tree walking-stick, with a gold head curiously wrought in the form of the cap of liberty," which he gave in the codicil to his will, "to my friend and the friend of mankind, General Washington. If it were a sceptre, he has merited it and would become it."



THE STEVENS-FRANKLIN COLLECTION.

Engraved from a photograph made by the Editor, February 22, 1883.

In considering the extended relations of Franklin with the chief men in every field of endeavor, almost from 1726, the date at which his active career in the world may be said to have begun, to the time of his death, a period of sixty-five years, it would be difficult to estimate the work of his never tiring pen, and the amount of matter which was addressed to him. As was remarked by Sparks: "Few writers have been so regardless of literary reputation as Franklin. . . . He seldom affixed his name to any of his writings. They were mostly designed for a particular purpose; and when they had answered the end for which they were intended, he seems to have given himself little concern about their future

destiny." This may be said with even more emphasis of the vehicles of his thoughts. He was in theory a most systematic man; but in a life so crowded, something must be neglected, and we have only to remember the impatience of John Adams, on arriving at Paris, to find the files of the legation in confusion, to learn the thing he most neglected. Consequently, it is not to be wondered at that the papers of Franklin, unlike the records at Quincy, seem to have had an inherent faculty for getting lost. He was not entirely at fault. On going abroad in 1776, the stores of fifty years were intrusted to Joseph Galloway, so intimate a friend that he had been chosen by Franklin as executor of his will; unfortunately Galloway abandoned the cause of liberty, and his unprotected mansion during or after the occupancy of Philadelphia by the British was rifled, and Franklin's chest was broken open and its precious contents were largely destroyed. The accumulations of the eventful eight years (actually eight years and seven months) of his residence in France, accompanied him on his return to America; and it is believed that some part of the not quite five years which remained to him was given to the examination of that material, with a view to the posthumous publication of a selection therefrom and the completion of his autobiography. We know that the autobiography was not completed, and we cannot now determine how far the work of selection of original documents was carried on. After his death, by the operation of his last will, his manuscripts fell to his grandson, William Temple Franklin, the son of William Franklin, the last of England's governors of New Jersey.

William Temple Franklin, it is assumed, prosecuted the examination of the papers, after they became his property, with a view to satisfying the demands of Europe and America for a life of his grandfather; and he is also supposed to have obtained from Richard Bache such of the manuscripts as were preserved of the collection intrusted to Galloway. He divided them, and on leaving America for England he carried with him that portion which contained the important part of the writings of Franklin, both of a private and public nature, the latter predominating; and the other portion was left in the hands of Mr. Fox, of Philadelphia. The grandson, having been trained by Franklin, seems not to have gained any discipline in habits of order, and as his natural failings in that respect were not corrected by a share of Franklin's power for diligent and continuous work, the result of his great opportunities at London were only six volumes of the more extended publication which he is believed to have projected, and which he owed the world. The material contained in those volumes affords one of the largest sources for information concerning

Franklin which at the time of the preparation of the noble work of Mr. Sparks was known to exist; and in his ten volumes it is reprinted. The difficulty of increasing that material occasioned the statement quoted above from Mr. Sparks' preface to his first volume; and the disappearance of the original documents which William Temple was known to have carried to England caused the repetition in the same preface of the tenor of an unjust charge made by Mr. Marshall, the editor of "The Complete Works, in philosophy, politics, and morals of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin, now first collected and arranged, with Memoirs of his early life, written by himself, in three volumes," published by J. Johnson and the Longmans, 1806. In consequence of the non-appearance of the work offered some years before by William Temple to the London publishers, and upon which he was then engaged, Mr. Marshall said "the proprietor, it seems, had found a bidder of a different description in some emissary of the government, whose object was to withhold the manuscripts from the world, not to benefit by their publication; and they thus passed into other hands, or the person to whom they were bequeathed received a remuneration for suppressing them." Although Mr. Sparks does not appear to have credited this charge, the disappearance of the manuscripts could not be explained. The mystery is now revealed: if a soul can be supposed to inhabit such immaterial things, they may be said to have had their share of that perverse inclination for getting lost which possessed the pre-revolutionary series.

At the time (1840) the Boston ten volumes were going through the press, the papers were reposing in the dust on a shelf in the shop of a London tailor!

When William Temple Franklin had published his quarto and octavo editions of the memoirs at the house of Henry Colburn, in 1818, he contemplated a continuation of them; but Colburn had reached the end of his patience, and refused longer to support the wishes of his dilatory and troublesome client, so the work came to a stand-still. With William Temple's future career the world has little to do. He married, removed to Paris, left his papers with his banker at London, and died abroad. His widow reclaimed the deposit, and having little concern for the most valuable part of it, is supposed to have left the manuscripts at her lodging-place, where, by good luck, they were certainly, for the most part, preserved. The tailor, probably Mrs. Franklin's landlord, has left his mark on at least one of the pieces. It is said that Upcott, the antiquary, preserved from the tailor's shears the Magna Charta of England. An appreciative gentleman, accidentally coming upon the Franklin papers, rescued them for his-

tory: that one piece, however, is fashioned like unto the similitude of a coat collar; but its import is not impaired, and may with propriety be handed down to posterity as a state paper, and at the same time serve as a relic of one of the London industries most approved by American gentlemen.

In 1852 this *trouvaille* was purchased by Mr. Henry Stevens, G. M. B. (Green Mountain Boy, *alias* Grand Master of Bibliography), and after thirty years, under a provision in the act making appropriations for the sundry civil expenses of the government for the fiscal year 1882-83, approved August 7, 1883, they were purchased from him for the archives of the United States. It is due to Mr. Stevens to say here that, knowing their value, as no one could better know it, after his price had been secured he considered that his duty toward the manuscripts required a still further charge, and it was found on their arrival at the Department of State that he had given his attention to the mounting and binding of the entire series in the most elegant and substantial manner.

In one of those prefaces, which lend so great a charm to his otherwise dry-as-dust bibliographical work, Mr. Stevens inquires: "And should it be asked what has this bibliotectural G. M. B. done? some friendly little bird will whisper in their ears a Wren's epitaph, 'circumspice.'"

At the beginning of this article the editor of the Magazine has caused to be printed a representation of the volumes which may distinctively be called the "Stevens-Franklin Collection," to which references are made in this brief description of it. The collection comprises, in addition to the manuscripts, an extraordinary series of printed books relative to Franklin. The manuscripts will remain in the Department of State, the printed books will be deposited in the library of Congress.

The manuscripts alone will occupy our attention at this time. They are divided into two series: the first, contained in thirteen volumes folio and three in quarto bound in full blue crushed levant leather, are to be observed in the second row at the back of the picture. They comprise the following:

- The Craven Street Letter Book, 1772-1773;
- Original Autograph Journal of Franklin's Negotiations at London, in 1775, with transcripts of the same corrected by Franklin, 2 vols. quarto;
- The Petition to the King by the Congress of 1774;
- The Records of the Paris Legation, 1777 to 1782, 7 vols.;
- The Records of the Commissioners to France, 1776 to 1779;
- Journal of the Peace Commissioners, 1780 to 1783;
- Oswald's Journal of the Negotiations of 1782 (transcript from original in the Lansdown Collection);
- Franklin's Journal of the same negotiation;
- Franklin's correspondence with David Hartley.

The second series (arranged in the picture as the further row), contained in fourteen folio volumes bound in half green crushed levant, comprises all the miscellaneous papers dating from 1726 to 1790. Each paper being carefully mounted and prefaced by an exact description as to date, address, subject, and a statement if not printed, and if printed, to what extent and where.

In addition to these two distinct series, there are three small volumes which will be more fully described further on—Franklin's "Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion" in the original manuscript of 1728, also in a second edition of the same in manuscript, without date; and Franklin's autograph draft of his letter to Strahan. The latter may be easily remarked in the foreground of the engraving.

Concerning the first series, the earliest volume in point of time is the "Craven Street Letter Book," containing autograph copies of the letters written by Franklin at London, while colonial agent in 1772 and 1773. These manuscripts, although perfectly clear, show signs of ill treatment; it is probable they were of that series deposited with Galloway and reclaimed by Richard Bache. They are of the period before Franklin invented the now common system of the press copy; each letter is signed, either in full or with the initials "B. F." The house from which he wrote these interesting epistles to his family and to his political correspondents still stands in the street which has given them a name, running from the Strand to the Thames, between Trafalgar Square and Charing Cross Station. The house is marked with a tablet identifying it as his residence. There he formed the acquaintance, so familiar to all who have read his letters to his wife, of his hostess, Mrs. Stevenson, and her daughter. To the latter he addressed those "more than forty letters," enumerated by Mr. Sparks as among the material with which he supplemented the work of William Temple; and to her he communicated his system of a reformed alphabet and spelling for the English language. The writer considers it not improper to remark that the same house gave him shelter while he was engaged in making the examination of the Stevens collection preliminary to the negotiations for its purchase by the United States; it was a pleasant incident in the history of the vicissitudes of these papers that their unrest should in some measure come to a period in the house in which many of the earliest of them had their origin; and he cannot without a moment's

THE PAPERS OF
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

RESCUED COLLECTED COLLATED
AND ARRANGED BY

HENRY STEVENS OF BROMPTON
Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London &c.

1811-1821



VOLUME XIV

LONDON
HENRY STEVENS 25B IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE
Next to the Old Bank

recognition pass by the sheets addressed to Mrs. Franklin, "My dear Child," to Dr. Priestly, to Mr. Colden, to Mr. Bartram, to "Dear Son," soon to become less dear, to speaker Cushing, to Dr. Cooper, to Captain Falconer, whose name will appear again, to Humphrey Marshall, to Joseph Galloway, and to others whose names belong to those stirring times.

To the colonial period belong two other volumes of the same series, Franklin's original autograph journal of his negotiations of 1775, to prevent the Revolution. The story of those negotiations comes to a full stop at the next volume in order, which marks also the limit of endurance of the colonists under unjust English rule, the petition "To the King's most excellent Majesty," of October 26th, 1774, done by the unanimous consent of the first Continental Congress, at their first session.

This extraordinary document, of which the venerable Chatham spoke in private and in public with admiration, and his opinion was shared by all candid statesmen of that day, was given in full, directly from the original, in the May issue of this Magazine.

It is interesting to turn to the proceedings of that Congress and read the method of drafting this paper.

On Saturday, October 1st, 1774, it was: "Resolved unanimously: That a loyal address to his majesty be prepared." "Mr. Lee (Richard Henry), Mr. J. Adams, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Henry, and Mr. Rutledge be a committee to prepare an address to his majesty." On the Monday and Wednesday following, the committee were instructed as to subjects to be presented in the address; on Friday, October 21st, the address was brought in by the committee, debated and recommitted, and Mr. J. Dickenson was added to the committee. Monday, October 24th, it was again submitted; on Tuesday the 25th it was considered, amended, approved, and ordered to be engrossed; and a committee consisting of Mr. Lee and Mr. Jay was requested to prepare the letter to the agents to accompany it. On Wednesday the 26th the letter to the agents was brought in, approved, and ordered engrossed; while "two copies of the address to the king being engrossed and compared, were signed at the table by all the members." Of the history of the Declaration of Independence we have not so explicit an account. From Charles Thomson's entry in the original "Rough Journals" the following memorandum is copied, which still further illustrates the details attending the transmission of the document:

"Agents to whom the Address to the King is to be sent

for

New Hampshire. . . . Paul Wentworth Esq.

for	Massachusetts Bay. . .	William Bollan Esq, Doct Benj : Franklin Doct Arthur Lee
	Rhode Island.	None.
	Connecticut.	Thomas Life Esq ^r
	New Jersey.	Doct ^r Benj : Franklin
	Pennsylvania.	Ditto
	New York.	Edmund Burke
	Delaware, Maryland,	} ..None
	Virginia, N. Carolina.	
	South Carolina.	Charles Garth Esq ^r

"Wednesday sent an address to the King under cover to Doct. Franklin directed to the above agents.

* * * * *

"6 Novr. sent the 2d copy of address to his Majesty by Captn. Falconer."

With the second copy was also sent the letter found among the Franklin papers which is here printed for the first time.

(Chas. Thomson to Benjamin Franklin.)

Sir :

I have the honour to forward to you the address to the King and an address to the people of Great Britain and these colonies. I was in hopes by this opportunity to have sent you the Journals of the proceedings of the Congress which is in press.

I hope the administration will see and be convinced that it is not a little faction, but the whole body of American freeholders from Nova Scotia to Georgia that now complain and apply for redress, and who, I am sure, will resist rather than submit.

When I look back and consider the warm affection which the colonists had for Great Britain till the present reign, the untainted loyalty, unshaken fidelity and cheerful confidence that universally prevailed till that time and then view the present heartburnings, jealousies, gloom, and despair, I am ready to ask with the poet "are there not some chosen thunders in the stores of heaven armed with uncommon wrath to blast those men," who by their cursed schemes of policy are dragging friends and brothers into the horrors of civil war, and involving their country in ruin.

Even yet the wound may be healed and peace and love restored. But we are on the very edge of the precipice.

I am your affectionate friend & humble sevt.

Chas. Thomson.

Novr. 1, 1774.

Unfortunately the reports of committees prior to the year 1776 have not been handed down to us, and the actual authorship of the Petition remains, so far as the resources of the archives are concerned, unknown. The risks and perils of the sea, and the variations in the speed of vessels at that time, required both for their safety and despatch, the sending of

duplicates of all important communications by at least two packets; hence the two copies of the petition. Both were received by Franklin. It is unnecessary to dwell here on the reception met with by the copy presented; it has been often related; but the effect of its rejection upon the suffering colonists has not remained in the popular mind. After that came the deluge.

Between October, 1774, and July, 1776, many changes occurred in the composition of Congress. Of the fifty-one delegates who signed the Petition only twenty-one were present on the occasion of the signing of the great instrument which marked another and definite, final step toward independence. Those delegates were: Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Stephen Hopkins, Roger Sherman, Philip Livingston, William Floyd, John Hart, John Morton, George Ross, Cæsar Rodney, Thomas McKean, George Read, William Paca, Samuel Chase, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison, William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, Edward Rutledge, and Thomas Lynch, jr. But their names represent the larger part of the power and authority which prevailed in the National Councils during the Revolution; only one them appears on each of the four great documents which illustrate the organization and establishment of our government: Roger Sherman signed the Petition, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution.

The records of the Paris legation contain the final copies of official letters written by Franklin, and of letters to him from 1777 to 1782; the "Records of the Commissioners to France," contain the transcripts chiefly of the correspondence between the congressional committee for foreign affairs and the commissioners, 1776 to 1779. For the details of the negotiations for peace with England, the other volumes of the first series possess an extraordinary value. It is not possible to discuss that value here.

Turning to the second series, which constitutes in quantity and quality the larger part of the collection, there is found in these stout fourteen volumes a wealth of material never exploited by any writer since William Temple bundled up the papers for safe keeping at his banker's. The number of pieces in the three series is nearly three thousand, and more than two-thirds of them remain unprinted. Among the many notable documents it must suffice to remark the following: A letter addressed to the Earl of Rochford, of March 23d, 1770, by James Bowdoin, Samuel Pemberton, and Joseph Warren, a committee of the town of Boston, relating the condition of affairs, and reporting to him the massacre. Two copies of this appear to have been sent to Franklin as agent of Massachusetts, both having arrived, one was delivered and the other retained.

A letter to Franklin, signed by Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and William Phillips, as a committee of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, informing him of the distress occasioned by the stamp act, and relating one important incident in illustration of its effects, that incident being the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor. The draft of Franklin's statement concerning the Hutchinson letters. His draft of a letter to the Royal Society proposing the use of lightning conductors to secure the powder magazine at Purfleet. His memorandum of "Queries relating to the Colonies to be discussed with Lord C. . . " (Chatham). A contemporary copy of New Jersey's address to the king which was presented "but no answer was returned and the original remains in the king's hands." The original manuscript of Sir William Jones' "Fragment of Polybius," communicated during the negotiations for peace; and in reply Franklin caused the "Fragment de Xenophon" to be prepared. Franklin's autograph draft of his motion respecting prayers in the Constitutional Convention; these are only such few as strike the eye on casually turning over the pages of a few of the volumes.

Added to the papers of Franklin, there are also preserved in this series a large number of William Temple's letters and memoranda, which he regarded as of sufficient value to be deposited in his banker's safe. Among them are found interesting letters from his grandfather's old friends, and much of the correspondence relating to the preparation and publication of the London edition of the memoirs. They serve as *pièces justificatives* to corroborate the history of the whole collection. The admirable system employed by Mr. Stevens in the arrangement of the second series affords a valuable model to be followed in the disposition of similar material in public or private collections; each volume has its own specially printed title-page, the one represented in the illustration (of vol. XIV.) being in its general features typical of all.

The little volume written by Franklin at the age of twenty-two is particularly characteristic of that vigorous youth, when, daunted by nothing, he set forth to make his livelihood, independent of patronage and family assistance; characteristic of that eager mind which from the first was indifferent to traditions, and did not hesitate to make its own roads to knowledge, to inquire into and decide all questions of morals and metaphysics and the rest—who shall name all the fields it entered and explored? It was after his return from London, where, while composing the type for an edition of Wollaston's "Religion of Nature," he learned, to a great degree, latitudinarianism in matters of religion, that he established for himself a religious or ethical creed in the "Articles of Belief and Acts of

Religion." It is prepared, printer-like, in the form of "copy" to go to the press, with title page: it is divided systematically into two parts, the first being "First Principles," and the second, as the "Acts of Religion," comprising forms of "Adoration," "Petition," and "Thanks." In the "Petition," which is arranged like a litany, occurs a passage which may be extracted because of its interest in the light of subsequent events:

"That I may be loyal to my Prince, and faithful to my country, careful of its Good, valiant in its Defence, and obedient to its Laws, abhorring Treason as much as Tyranny,

Help me, O Father."

On the fly leaf of this volume Mr. Stevens has written these notes: "This liturgy, written by Franklin at the age of twenty-two for his own private use, continued, as he informs us, to be his daily companion until the late evening of his life. It was first printed by Temple Franklin, in 1817, but with some errors and omissions. When it first came into my possession it had been injured by damp, and was much mildewed. I had it carefully cleaned, baked to kill the fungus, wet and well sized, and bound by Bedford, in 1852. It is the earliest autograph manuscript of Franklin in my collection."

Its fellow, the "second edition," is of a somewhat larger size.

The letter to Strahan may be classed among the world's famous letters. It was reproduced in fac-simile in William Temple Franklin's edition, and from that was re-engraved for Sparks' fifth volume. It will do no harm to print it again.

"Philad. July 5. 1775

Mr. Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament,
and one of that Majority which has
doomed my Country to Destruction.—
— You have begun to burn our Towns
and murder our People.—Look upon
your Hands!—They are stained with the
Blood of your Relations!—You and I were
long Friends:—You are now my Enemy,—
and

I am

Yours,

B. Franklin.

This is but a brief and rapid survey of the papers of the first diplomatist of the United States; a future comparison with the published correspondence and with historical works will enable the student to determine what facts concealed in them throw light on the efforts of Franklin in securing treasure and arms and allies by which the Revolution came to a successful close in 1783.

Theodore F. Dwight.

[One of the pages of the author's manuscript, containing further reference to the Craven Street house in London, escaped notice, and has thus been inadvertently omitted from the foregoing article. This is the more to be regretted, as Mr. Dwight occupied, for a time, the historic old structure where the philosopher so long ago resided and entertained his scientific friends with exhibitions of his electrical machines. The history of the purchase of the Franklin Papers by the United States is well known. The State Department sent its accomplished librarian to England, prior to that event, for their careful and intelligent examination; and, singularly enough, his duty was performed in the same house where many of the documents were originally written. The house is further associated with Franklin as the scene of his observations on street sweeping. It stands in the well known thoroughfare, from which it received its name, in the very heart of the London of to-day, and is one of those interesting relics of a former romantic period, which the English people are always inclined to cherish. Our readers will be gratified to learn, in this connection, that Mr. Dwight's studies of the bibliography and inventions of Franklin, of great value and interest to all, will be given in a second article from his pen, in a future number of the Magazine.—EDITOR.]

THE HISTORICAL STATUS OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY

Every pupil in our common schools knows that the large tract of country lying west of the State of Arkansas, and usually indicated on maps by a patch of green pigment, is inhabited by Indians, and is officially named the Indian Territory. But beyond these, and a few other equally elementary facts, it may be fairly doubted whether the majority of the American people have any certain and definite knowledge respecting the region in question and its history. One cannot read what is written about that country in newspapers or hear what is said in conversation without discovering that popular notions of the history and status of the Indian Territory are of the vaguest possible description. The common impression seems to be that the Territory is an unappropriated part of the public domain; that Congress may do pretty much as it will with the country and the people; that the Government may remove the Indians, or without disturbing them throw open their country to settlement. And even those persons who recognize the existence of some limitation upon the power of Congress in this respect, seem to take it for granted that the limitation consists in nothing more than a vague, undefined right of occupancy in certain lands, granted to the Indian tribes by grace of the Government. We are forced to think, also, that this popular notion of the status of the Territory prevails to a considerable extent even among members of Congress who ought to know better. We are forced to believe this because otherwise we must think something very much worse. Congress has entertained propositions concerning the Indian Territory which it could not have entertained with an accurate knowledge of the status of that country, except by deliberately consenting to consider acts of direct and disgraceful spoliation. The theory that even members of Congress are imperfectly informed on the subject is at once pleasanter and more probably sound than the conviction that honesty and national good faith count for nothing among our law-givers.

It is our purpose here briefly to inquire concerning the history of the institution of this Territory, for the sake of pointing out prevalent misconceptions respecting its status, and showing how much more than a mere right of land occupancy—how much more even than a clear and indefeasible title to their lands—the Government has sold to the Indians settled there. The word "sold" is here used rather than its fellow "granted,"

because it is a fact to be emphasized that every acre of land and every right possessed by the people of the Indian Territory was sold to them at a full price, not at their suggestion, but at the earnest and repeated solicitation of the Government.

All the facts necessary for this inquiry lie upon the surface. They are accessible not only to students of state papers, but to every citizen who will be at the trouble of reading well-digested treatises which are to be found in the libraries and are for sale in the shops. If these facts were as generally familiar as they might be, there would be neither occasion nor excuse for asking attention to them here. But it is obvious that such is not the case, and hence it may be worth while to review here a story which is told in detail in almost every worthy treatise upon the Indian relations of the Government, although in many, if not most, such treatises something of the full significance of the facts is lost through the bias of popular misconception. When the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the newly organized Government was confronted by no problems more perplexing than those that grew out of Indian relations. Wisely or unwisely it was the practice of the Government to deal with the several tribes as with sovereign nations capable of making war, concluding peace, negotiating treaties, and doing other acts implying a species of sovereignty and a considerable measure of independence. At the same time the several States claimed sovereignty for themselves subject only to the limitations imposed by a voluntarily accepted Federal constitution, and the National Government has never disputed the claim. But many of the Indian nations lay within the boundaries of the original States, and many others held reservations within the limits of new States created out of the public domains, and admitted to the Union from time to time. Thus it came about that the same district of country was sometimes subject to three distinct governments—that of the United States, that of the State within which it lay, and that of the Indian nation which owned it as a reservation. No prophet was needed to foretell the arising of most perplexing complications out of these conditions, and from the first the statesmen of the republic sought a remedy in the removal of the Indians to regions beyond the limits of white settlements. No sooner was the Louisiana purchase confirmed than the minds of thoughtful men turned to the region beyond the Mississippi River as the country to which the Indians should be sent. The plan of removing the red men beyond the western limits of white settlement had been suggested by General Knox—the first Secretary of War—and when the Louisiana purchase was made the suggestion was taken up the more earnestly, because it was then for the first time

possible to send them to a region which was believed to be far beyond the probable range of emigration for many years to come. President Jefferson actively urged the plan, but nothing of importance toward putting it into effect could be done at that time, because the public had not yet sufficiently felt the pressure of necessity. The pinch had not yet come. The Indians in settled regions were under tolerable subjection, their removal would be very costly, and there was still an abundance of good land open to settlement.

The war of 1812-14, during which Tecumseh in the North and Weatherford in the South arrayed pretty nearly the whole Indian force of the country against the United States, awakened public attention to the dangers of the situation, and gave a new motive for pursuing the policy of removal. During the next fifteen years the subject was much discussed in state papers, in congressional debates, and among the people. Between 1825 and 1830 a good many tribes were persuaded to make the necessary exchange of lands and remove to the region now constituting the States of Kansas and Nebraska, which afterward became a part of the Indian Territory as first formed. It was not until 1830, however, that Congress took up the matter in earnest, and adopted a definite scheme for the general removal of the red men to a territory set apart for their exclusive use. This was done under a special pressure of necessity, arising out of one of the most perplexing problems ever set for statesmanship to solve. This problem originated as follows:

The State of Georgia, as every one knows, was one of the original members of the Federal Union. Its boundaries at the time of the formation of the General Government were those of the original colony, and in uniting with the other States to form the Union, it relinquished no part of its domain, which stretched westward over the present State of Alabama. Following the example set by Virginia, New York and other States, Georgia agreed, in the year 1802, to cede its western territory to the General Government as a part of the public domain. But, as a condition of the cession and a consideration—in legal phrase—Georgia stipulated that the General Government should purchase and extinguish the Indian title to all lands within that State. To this the United States assented, agreeing to extinguish the Indian title at as early a date as practicable, and under this agreement the transfer of territory was made.

After waiting for years for the fulfillment of this part of the compact, Georgia began, with justice, to complain, and to insist upon the purchase of the Cherokee lands. But this was the least part of the trouble. Acting under the treaties which the Government had made with them as with a

sovereign people, the Cherokees claimed the right to set up a government of their own within the States of Georgia and Alabama, but wholly independent of these commonwealths. The authorities of Georgia and Alabama—as they were bound to do—resisted this claim, and undertook to suppress the government thus set up within their territory and in defiance of their authority. As States, sovereign within their own limits, Georgia and Alabama justly asserted their right to extend their laws over all persons within their domain, and denied the right of any other government to exist there. The Cherokees, relying upon their treaty rights, and the repeated recognition by the United States of their title to independent self-government, appealed to the President to sustain them; while Georgia demanded that the General Government should fulfill its obligations by extinguishing the Cherokee title and removing those troublesome neighbors from her territory. The matter was carried into the courts, and became a subject of political debate throughout the country. It was plain that both parties to the controversy were, in a sense, in the right. The trouble was that their respective rights were irreconcilable and antagonistic, and yet both rights existed.

In his message of December 8, 1829, President Jackson laid this matter before Congress, as one of his predecessors had already done. "Under the circumstances," he wrote, "the question presented was, whether the General Government had a right to sustain these people [*i.e.*, the Cherokees] in their pretensions. The Constitution declares that 'no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State,' without the consent of its Legislature." After setting forth the manner in which Georgia and Alabama became States in the Union, he added: "There is no constitutional, conventional or legal provision which allows them less power over the Indians within their borders than is possessed by the people of Maine or New York. Would the people of Maine permit the Penobscot tribe to erect an independent government within their State? And, unless they did, would it not be the duty of the General Government to support them in resisting such a measure? If the principle involved in the obvious answers to these questions be abandoned, it will follow that the objects of the Government are reversed, and that it has become a part of its duty to aid in destroying the States which it was established to protect."

Doubtless all this was a sound and necessary interpretation of the organic law of the land. But, on the other hand, the General Government, which was bound by its Constitution to protect the States from all attempts to erect other States within their territory, had made treaties with the In-

dians in a way that was inconsistent with any theory except that of the quasi-sovereignty of the tribes, subject only to the paramount sovereignty of the nation. And so the Indians had good ground for their claim of right to governmental protection in their effort to set up self-governing communities of their own. In short, the Government, in its dealings with the Indians, had taken upon itself obligations which it could not constitutionally fulfill, and had recognized in the Indians certain rights which it could not enforce without the destruction of its own constituent States.

Thus was presented a new phase of the Indian problem, at once more pressing and more perplexing than any that had before arisen. The obvious way out of this and all other entanglements arising from the presence of Indian tribes within the boundaries of the States, was to persuade them to emigrate beyond those boundaries. Accordingly the President urged upon Congress "the propriety of setting apart an ample district west of the Mississippi, and without the limits of any State or Territory now formed, to be guaranteed to the Indian tribes as long as they shall occupy it, each tribe having the distinct control over the portion designated for its own use. There they may be secured in the enjoyment of governments of their own choice, subject to no other control from the United States than such as may be necessary to preserve peace on the frontier and between the several tribes." Although this recommendation of the President had no force as law, it reflected the spirit of what had been done already, and was the foundation upon which all the legislation that followed was built; it was in pursuance of this recommendation that Congress set apart "an ample district west of the Mississippi," and authorized the settlement of the Indians there; and so the recommendation itself becomes an important part of the *res gestæ*. Its language is proper matter for consideration in interpreting the enactments afterward made and in inquiring into the exact intention of Congress in what it did. It is important, therefore, to note the precise words used by the President, and to observe that while each tribe was to have "the distinct control over the portion designated for its own use," the whole "ample district," the whole, that is to say, of the Indian Territory, was to be set apart and "guaranteed to the Indian tribes." We shall see, as we proceed, that this has been the understanding from first to last, and that the Government has so interpreted its own action whenever occasion has arisen.

Before proceeding with the story of what was done by Congress, let us briefly summarize what the lawyers call the consideration which the Indians paid to the Government for whatever they got of land, rights, and immunities in the Indian Territory.

First, and chiefly, they released the Government from a difficult and embarrassing position.

Secondly, they freed the people and the Government from constant and serious dangers, and especially from the danger that in the event of a foreign war the powerful tribes within the borders of the States might ally themselves with the foreign foe, as they had done during the war of 1812-14, to the peril of the nation and the great increase of the cost of the war.

Thirdly, they took themselves out of the way of the settlement of the country.

Fourthly, they gave to the Government vast tracts of valuable, and in part improved land, which was theirs forever by the most solemn and binding grants the United States could make.

It will not be denied that these were valuable considerations upon which to found a contract, or that in giving them the Indians paid a good round price for all that they got in the Indian Territory and in the way of money payments, food, supplies, etc., pending their removal and settlement there. Now let us see what it was that the United States sold them for the price thus paid.

The act creating the Territory was approved May 28th, 1830—a little more than five months after the President urged the scheme upon the attention of Congress. This act was broad and general in its scope, the obvious purpose being to authorize the President to carry out the scheme as outlined in his message. The details were left to his discretion, and very ample power was placed in his hands. The act authorized him to set aside for this purpose so much territory as he might deem necessary, the land to lie west of the Mississippi, outside the boundaries of any State or organized Territory, and to be free from incumbrances in the shape of unextinguished Indian titles. The President was further empowered to negotiate with the Indians for the necessary exchanges of land and removal to the new Territory; to pay them, at valuation prices, for such improvements as they had made on the lands surrendered to the Government; and to render them such aid as was needed to enable them to remove and establish themselves in their new homes. He was also authorized, in the name of the United States, to give the tribes the most solemn and binding assurances that the country thus given to them in exchange for that which they had surrendered, should be forever guaranteed to them and their heirs, and even to issue formal land patents to them if they desired.

It was under this general enactment that the Indian Territory was set apart and dedicated to its use as a permanent home for such Indians as the Government could induce to remove thither. We have already seen

how urgent was the Government's need that all the Eastern tribes should remove; let us now see what inducements the Government—acting under the authority of the Act of 1830—held out to the Indians, what terms it made with them, what pledges it gave, and what rights it conferred upon them, or—more strictly speaking—sold to them. This may best be done by citing the terms of the treaties made with the principal tribes. Some of these treaties of emigration were made before and some after the passage of the Act of 1830, but for our present purpose it is not necessary to separate them, as that act simply authorized the continued and general pursuit of the policy already followed in the removal of those tribes that had been persuaded to remove to the Indian Territory before the act was passed. The boundaries of the Territory as originally set apart, were much wider than they now are, and included a vast region now embraced in the States of Kansas and Nebraska.

In the treaty with the Choctaws the Government bound itself to convey the lands assigned to that nation, in fee simple; and further declared that "The Government and people of the United States are hereby obliged to secure to the said Choctaw nation of red people the jurisdiction and government of the persons and property that may be within their limits west, so that no Territory or State shall ever have a right to pass laws for the government of the Choctaw nation of red people and their descendants; and that no part of the land granted them shall ever be embraced in any Territory or State."

This is very strong but very plain language. Lawyers might quibble over it, perhaps, upon points relating to the exact nature of the estate thus granted, but the intention of the Government was unmistakably to give a certain tract of land to the Choctaws; and if this conveyance did not accomplish that purpose it is difficult to imagine any form of words which would make such a conveyance binding and irrevocable. No white man in New York holds property by a right more solemnly given, and no white man's title carries with it such privileges and immunities as were granted to the Choctaws—bought and paid for by them. They bought with their lands perpetual immunity from the operation of State or territorial laws, and even from the inclusion of their lands within the geographical boundaries of any State or Territory. They bought also a right of self-government, for the treaty goes on to say that "The United States shall forever secure said Choctaw nation from and against all laws except such as from time to time may be enacted in their own [*i. e.* the Choctaws'] national councils not inconsistent with the Constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States; and except such as may and which have been

enacted by Congress to the extent that Congress under the Constitution are required to exercise legislation over Indian affairs."

This treaty with the Choctaws is a fair sample of all the treaties. In that made with the Cherokees it was stipulated that their lands should "in no future time, without their consent, be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any State or Territory;" and, further, that the United States should "secure to the Cherokee nation the right, by their national councils, to make and to carry into effect all such laws as they may deem necessary for the government and protection of the persons and property within their own country, belonging to their people, or such persons as have connected themselves with them." This treaty gave to the Cherokees a perpetual outlet west as far as the territory of the United States should extend, together with the free use of all territory west of the Cherokee country. The Creeks were granted immunities precisely similar to those given to the Choctaws, and it was especially stipulated that as soon as the boundaries of their land could be determined a patent should be issued for it. To the Delawares a patent was in like manner promised, and to the Shawnees a patent was actually issued. So it was with all the rest. To some, patents were given, to others, patents were promised by treaty covenants which were in themselves equivalent to patents. To all the Government conveyed their lands absolutely, and all were forever exempted from inclusion within the jurisdiction or territorial limits of any State or Territory.

Nothing can be plainer than that the Government conveyed and meant to convey to the Indians the surest and completest possible right to their lands, and to the peculiar franchises and immunities set forth in the treaties. It gave the lands to them, or sold them rather, for a fair price, and every proposal which contemplates the invasion of any of their rights, or the sale of a single acre of their lands, is a scheme of wanton and outrageous spoliation. The lands do not belong to the Government for sale or for disposal in any way. It has already sold them to the Indians, and has confirmed the sale by the most solemn conveyances, about the meaning of which there can be neither doubt nor dispute. It has also sold so much of its sovereignty over them as is implied in the right to organize a Territory, or permit the erection of a State which shall include any of the Indian lands within its territorial limits or jurisdiction. And yet from time to time it is proposed to "open the Indian Territory" for settlement, and to put these lands into market. Even professed and notoriously active friends of the Indians have declared to the present writer that the lands thus sold to the tribes in the Territory are merely reservations subject to Government manipula-

tion, and that it is within the right of the Government to sell the lands to settlers at will. If such were the fact, then no holder of land which once constituted a part of the public domain would be anything more than a tenant at will.

But that such is not the case the Government itself has repeatedly declared in word and act. In all its official dealings with the subject it has fully recognized the indefeasibility of the Indian title, not only to his lands but also to the immunities conveyed with them. In 1852 a bill was introduced into Congress providing for the organization of the Territory of Nebraska out of a part of the original Indian Territory. This bill was in plain violation of the solemnly guaranteed rights of the Indians whose lands lay within the proposed new Territory; but it passed the lower House of Congress, the majority of whose members—charity requires us to suppose—were ignorant of the existence of the rights menaced. The Senate, being better informed, rejected the measure, and at the next session a sum of money was appropriated, and the President was requested to negotiate with the Indians and secure their permission for the organization of the Territory. Congress thus distinctly recognized the truth, as the executive officers of the Government had always done, that the United States had no legal right to permit the organization of the Territory of Nebraska without first obtaining the consent of the Indians to whom the land and its attendant immunities had been sold. The Government at last succeeded in buying the right, paying a heavy price for it, and thus the area of the Indian Territory was reduced, though the status of what remained was in no way changed.

It is unnecessary to extend this part of our inquiry further. Enough has been said to show that, so far as the particular lands sold to the Indians of the Territory are concerned, the Government has no right either to take them for settlement or permit their inclusion within the geographical limits or jurisdiction of any State or organized Territory. But what of the lands within the Indian Territory which are not included in any of the particular grants? It is stoutly claimed that these at least are subject to sale by the Government for settlement.

The unassigned part of the Territory is now relatively small, but it might be increased at any time by the sale of parts of the reservations to the Government, and, aside from that possibility, the matter is worth considering. Let us see, then, what light history throws upon it.

From the first suggestion to the final execution of the scheme of removal, no part of the Government's purpose was more insisted upon than its wish to free the Indians from irritating and demoralizing contact with that

class of white men who everywhere line the outskirts of civilization. The avowed object was to set apart a region in which the Indians could live by themselves, without contact with the whites and beyond the reach of encroaching settlements. It was one of the inducements held out to the Indians—a part of the bargain made with them—that their new homes should be in a territory set apart for the exclusive occupation of Indians. The Government gave a certain portion of the Territory to each tribe and nation removed, reserving the rest, not for the use of the white men, but for the single purpose of exchanging it with other Indians for lands to be surrendered by them in other parts of the country. The clear understanding was that no part of the Indian Territory was ever to be sold or granted to any but Indians, and such an understanding is in the nature of a positive stipulation.

That such was the understanding, and that the Government has acted upon it, is easily shown. We have already seen what President Jackson said in his message outlining the scheme, and in well-nigh every official utterance on the subject similar language was used. It was clearly the intention of all who favored the scheme, not only to grant the particular ownership of their several tracts of land to the separate tribes, but to secure the whole Territory to the exclusive use and control of the Indian race, subject only to such regulation on the part of the Government as might be necessary to preserve peace and protect the red men. The whole Indian Territory was set apart and dedicated to this object. Accordingly the Government has from the first forbidden white men even to enter the Territory except under special permits; and in this and other prohibitions it has made no distinction whatever between the lands reserved to particular tribes and those not yet appropriated. The whole Territory has been treated as forbidden ground to white men, as a region expressly and most solemnly dedicated to Indian use exclusively. Such recognition by the Government of a status created by its own act must be accepted as a correct rule of interpretation in any inquiry concerning the meaning and force of the acts instituting the Territory.

Again, in 1853, before the consent of the Indians had been secured for the erection of the northern part of the Indian country into the Territory of Nebraska, Colonel Benton sought to put upon the laws instituting the Indian Territory an interpretation of his own similar to that which we are now considering. He insisted that only those lands which had been specially conveyed to particular tribes were forbidden to white occupancy, and that all lands not thus set apart were open to settlement by white men. Maps were made showing what lands were the property of Indian

tribes and what tracts remained public, and many persons sought to establish pre-emption claims to the so-called "open lands."

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whose act in such a matter was that of the Government, publicly warned the people that the theory of open lands within the Territory was without foundation, and that no land there was open to settlement on any terms. Here was an unmistakable interpretation of the law by a Government officer whose official position and acquaintance with the subject specially qualified him to say what the Government understood the status of the Indian Territory to be.

Finally, we cite the following passage from the annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs made November 25, 1854: "The faith of the nation was pledged in the most solemn form, before these tribes were removed to the west of the Mississippi, that they should have the undisputed possession and control of the country, and that the tracts assigned to them therein should be their permanent homes."

The reader will observe the peculiar terms employed by the Commissioner in setting forth the exact rights of the Indians: "They should have undisputed possession and control," not of their particular reservations, but "*of the country* and"—that is to say in addition to their right to control the country,—the faith of the government was pledged that "the tracts assigned to them therein"—*i. e.* in this country that they controlled—"should be their permanent homes. It was called," he continues, "'the Indian Territory' and the Intercourse act made it unlawful for white men to go into it except on a license obtained, and for special purposes; and in this secluded home it was believed that the efforts of the Government and the philanthropist to civilize the red man would be more successful than ever before."

In this inquiry nothing has been said with respect to the wisdom or unwisdom of the policy adopted by the Government, for the reason that considerations of that kind are wholly foreign to our purpose. Wisely or unwisely, the policy has been adopted and carried out. The United States Government has sold the Indian Territory to the Indians, selling not only the lands conveyed to the several tribes, but also a general right of occupancy and control of the whole Territory.

It made the sale of its own motion, using every means in its power to secure the Indian acceptance of the bargain. It received payment in full on terms set by itself. Moreover, the bargain was made by the Government in its own interest and for its own ends; for while it is true that many of the statesmen who actively promoted the scheme believed it would help to preserve and civilize the red race, the controlling motive of

the nation and people was an eager desire to get the Indian out of the way of settlement, to remove a source of constant trouble and danger, and to get possession of the valuable lands held by the Indians in various parts of the country.

We do not here discuss those technical questions which have come before the courts with respect to the constitutional power of Congress so to legislate in certain cases as to invalidate rights and privileges granted to Indians by treaty. There can be no doubt that the United States, acting through one or another or all three of its branches, has power—the majority of the people so willing—to do almost unlimited injustice. It may confiscate property under the guise of taxing it, it may repudiate its bonds, it may break faith in any way that it will, without exceeding its powers as a sovereign nation. That, however, is not at all to the purpose of the present inquiry. We do not assert that Congress lacks power to confiscate the Indian Territory and offer its lands for sale; we only say that to offer them for sale would be an act of spoliation and as positive a robbery as it would be to repudiate the whole bonded debt of the country. It should be borne in mind that the treaties made with the Indians with respect to their removal to the Indian Territory do not depend for their validity upon the general right of the executive to make treaties with Indians. These treaties were specially authorized by act of Congress, and thus their promises have the sanction of the legislative as well as the executive branch of the Government.

We need not have the least sympathy with that sentimentalism which so often works mischief in Indian affairs in order to see clearly that every scheme for the opening and settlement of any part of the Indian Territory without consent of the Indians, is a proposal for the United States to abandon the plainest rules of honest dealing and to turn robber with the high hand. Sentiment has nothing whatever to do with this plain matter of business integrity.

George Cary Eggleston

UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

In the progress of education in the United States, many State universities have been established and are in successful operation. But the University of the State of New York so far antedates all others of a like designation, and moreover differs so widely from them in the plan and purpose of its organization, that it may not be without interest to the readers of this Magazine to devote a brief article to the exposition of its history.

As a colony, New York was slow in making provision for the liberal education of its citizens. It was not until 1754 that King's College, its first institution for higher education, was established. This was more than a century after the foundation of Harvard College in the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and more than half a century after Yale College had been chartered by the legislature of Connecticut. This tardiness is not to be charged to the want of appreciation on the part of the people of New York of the advantages of learning. It was due rather to the absence of that unity of origin and motive which characterized the settlers of the eastern colonies. Although subject to one government, the populations of the different sections of the colony were guided by widely different influences. The Hollanders, the Huguenots, the English, and the New England emigrants were each in their way anxious to gain for their children the benefits of education. But it was not till these diverse elements had been welded into one compact commonwealth by the struggles and sacrifices of the Revolution that the great impulse in the direction of public education was manifested. In the very year following the peace of independence, we find Governor George Clinton in his message dated January 21st, 1784, calling the attention of the legislature to the subject of education, and exhorting it to make provision for "the revival and encouragement of seminaries of learning." The response on the part of the legislature was cordial and immediate. Measures were at once taken to prepare a bill embodying the recommendations of the governor. This bill was passed on the first day of May, 1784. It made provision for two distinct objects: one, the establishment of the University of the State of New York, and the other the reorganization of King's College. The theory of this measure was to establish for the State a university to embrace within it all the colleges and schools which might be founded. It is essentially the same scheme that was afterward employed by Napoleon in organizing in 1806 the

University of France. The governing body of the university was a board of regents composed of seven *ex officio* members and twenty-four citizen members named in the act. By a subsequent act passed in the same year, the number of citizen members was increased to sixty-four, and the number required for a quorum was fixed at nine. The board was organized by the election of Governor George Clinton as chancellor of the university, Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt as vice-chancellor, and Robert Harpur of New York as secretary.

The same bill which established the university for the State provided for a reorganization of King's College. All the rights, privileges, and immunities of the old corporation were confirmed, and were vested in the regents of the university of the State. Columbia College, as it was now designated, constituted therefore the sole college of the university; and for several years the only business of the board of regents was the management of its affairs. This board, however, was so scattered and unwieldy that it was found an inconvenient governing body. Its leading members became convinced that for the sake both of the college and the general interests of education in the State there ought to be material changes in the organization. A committee of the board, of which James Duane was chairman and Alexander Hamilton was the leading spirit, after careful consideration, presented a report setting forth the defects of the existing law, and submitted a draft of a bill to be presented to the legislature. This bill, which is believed to have been the work of Hamilton, who at this time was a member of the lower house, was enacted into a law in 1787, and forms the legal basis of the present University of the State of New York. In the long period which has elapsed since this law was enacted some modifications have been made in its provisions, and especially a considerable extension in the powers of the board has been granted, but in the main the organization of the university and the duties of its governing board remain the same as prescribed in this fundamental law.

This new act of 1787 superseded the acts of 1784, which latter were specifically repealed. Columbia College was erected into a separate corporation, with its own property, rights and immunities, and its own board of trustees, but with conditions constituting it a part of the university. The board of regents of the university was made to consist of the governor, lieutenant-governor and nineteen citizen members named in the act. To these the secretary of state was added in 1842, and the superintendent of public instruction in 1854. The board, therefore, now consists of four *ex officio* members and nineteen others chosen by the legislature. Regents must be citizens of the State; and no officer of any college or academy is

eligible. They receive no compensation. The officers of the board are chosen annually, and consist of a chancellor, a vice-chancellor, a secretary, and an assistant secretary. The first chancellor under this new organization was Governor George Clinton, and the first vice-chancellor was Lieutenant-Governor John Jay. The office of chancellor continued to be filled by the successive governors down to the time of John Tayler, who being lieutenant-governor when Governor Tompkins was elected Vice-President of the United States became the acting governor. Governor Tayler was at this time a regent by election, and having been chosen chancellor on his accession to the gubernatorial chair, continued to hold the office after his term as governor expired. He held the position till his death in 1817. His successors have been Simeon De Witt, Stephen Van Rensselaer, James King, Peter Wendell, Gerrit Y. Lansing, John V. L. Pruyn, Erastus C. Benedict, and Henry R. Pierson. A glance over the roll of names reveals a great number of eminent men who have been members of this board. Not to mention the distinguished *ex officio* members, we find among those who have held the position by election such men as Dr. John Rodgers the patriot clergyman of New York, Egbert Benson the jurist, General Philip Schuyler, John Jay, James Kent, Baron Steuben, Washington Irving, Gulian C. Verplanck, William C. Bryant, Ezra L'Hommedieu, John A. Dix, Simeon DeWit, Dr. John N. Campbell, Gideon Hawley, John V. L. Pruyn, Ambrose Spencer, and John C. Spencer. The terms of office of many of the board have been noted for their great length. Matthew Clarkson, who was named in the act of 1787, held the office thirty-nine years, and his successor, Gulian C. Verplanck, forty-four years. John V. L. Pruyn was regent thirty-three years, and chancellor sixteen of these years. Gideon Hawley was secretary of the board twenty-seven years, and on his resignation was elected a regent, and served in this capacity twenty-nine years, making together a service in connection with the board of fifty-six years.

It was doubtless the purpose of the original framers of the law under which the university was established to provide an organization with which all the colleges and schools of the State might be organically connected. The regents were authorized to incorporate as they might deem expedient colleges and academies. At the very first meeting of the reorganized board an application was received to incorporate an academy at Flatbush under the name of Erasmus Hall; and at the next subsequent meeting a charter was granted to this corporation and also to the Clinton Academy, at East Hampton, Long Island. Under the encouraging auspices of the board, academies were established in all parts of the State. These academies

were the pioneer schools in the new settlements throughout the State. They preceded the common schools, and paved the way for their subsequent establishment. The regents were the first to propose, in 1793, "the institution of schools in various parts of the State, for the purpose of instructing children in the lower branches of education." Following this suggestion, Governor Clinton made the recommendation to the legislature in 1795, and in response a temporary act was passed "for the encouragement of schools." This in 1812 was expanded into "an act for the establishment of common schools," which was the origin of the common school system of the State.

The first college to receive a charter from the board of regents was Union College, in 1795. The provisions of this instrument are similar to those embodied in the charter of Columbia College, and conferred on the trustees "all the corporate rights and privileges which we [the regents] are empowered to grant." A similar charter was issued to Hamilton College, in 1812, and to Geneva [now Hobart] College in 1824. The legislature, in conferring upon the regents of the university the authority to grant collegiate and academic charters, did not deprive itself of the power to grant them. As a matter of fact many of the colleges and academies now existing in the State owe their charters directly to the legislature. In many such cases there were special circumstances which rendered it expedient to seek incorporation by special acts. But in many others the appeal to the legislature was taken because the conditions required by the regents as precedent to the issue of a charter could not be met by the applicants. Thus the regents had prescribed as a condition for receiving a charter for a literary college with university powers, the possession of an endowment of one hundred thousand dollars besides its grounds and buildings; and for a medical college an endowment of fifty thousand dollars, besides ground and buildings, was necessary. It has been the policy of the board to discourage the establishment of feeble and illy endowed institutions, and to foster and encourage a sufficient number of those with ample endowments. It might have been more to the educational credit of the State had this policy been favored by the legislature.

The regents, by virtue of the act of 1787, were "authorized and required to visit and inspect all colleges, academies, and schools which are or may be established; examine into the state and system of education and discipline therein, and make a yearly report thereof to the legislature." The institutions thus subject to the visitation of the regents are required by law to make annual reports to the board, including returns as to their financial and educational condition. The information gathered from these

reports, and from the visitation and inspection conducted by the regents and their agents, is embodied in an annual report to the legislature. The ninety-fifth annual report of the regents, for the year 1882, which has just been issued, includes returns from thirty-six institutions of collegiate rank. Of these, a part are colleges of arts simply, that is, colleges whose graduating degree is bachelor of arts; others maintain in connection with the college of arts professional departments; and still another class is composed of colleges for instruction in different departments of medical science. Of the twenty-two colleges of arts four are exclusively for women; the remainder are either exclusively for men, or for men and women without distinction. The total number of students returned for all the colleges and professional schools for the year 1881-2 was 9,923, and the total number of graduates for the year was 1,644.

The establishment and oversight of academies have always formed an important department of the work of the regents of the university. About two hundred and fifty schools of the academic grade are under the visitation of the regents. It has always been the policy of the State to aid liberally this class of schools. The literature fund is, by a provision of the constitution, devoted to the support of academies. This fund originated in the sale of State lands, and was largely increased in 1827 by the transfer to it of certain canal securities. It now amounts to about \$272,000. Another of the educational funds of the State is the United States deposit fund which was received from the general Government in 1837 as a deposit, on condition that it should be repaid on demand. It amounts to a little more than four million dollars, and its income is pledged to educational objects. The income of the literature fund, supplemented by an appropriation from the United States deposit fund, amounting together to \$40,000, is distributed annually by the regents among the academies. This distribution is made on the basis of the number of scholars in each pursuing academic studies. Since 1866 the scholars to be counted in this distribution have been ascertained by a system of written examinations conducted by the regents in the academies under their care. These examinations have served not only their primary purpose of affording a means of apportioning the literature fund, but also a more important purpose in promoting thorough and systematic instruction in all departments of education. As early as 1821, the regents suggested the employment of the academies of the State to educate teachers of common schools; and in the report for 1832, prepared by Regent John A. Dix, certain academies are named and commended as instructing such classes. In 1834, the legislature made provision for training classes of common school teachers in academies. This system

antedated the establishment of normal schools either in Massachusetts or New York. It is still maintained under the charge of the regents, and furnishes, especially in the rural counties, by far the largest proportion of trained teachers.

The charter of the university bestowed on its regents the power to confer academic degrees above that of Master of Arts. This power has been exercised sparingly. The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred in 1792 on Robert Livingston, and since on fifteen other persons. The degree of Doctor of Civil Law has been conferred but once, *viz.*, on William Beach Lawrence in 1873. By an act passed in 1872 the regents are authorized, on examination by medical boards to be appointed by them, to confer the degree of Doctor of Medicine. They have also undertaken to provide an examination on preliminary subjects required for admission to the bar, under the rules established by the Court of Appeals.

The board of regents, by virtue of its permanent and conservative character, has been invested by the legislature with many important trusts in addition to its duties originally designated in its charter. In 1844 the regents were constituted the trustees of the State library. At that time the library contained about 10,000 volumes; it has now increased to about 120,000 volumes. In 1845 the State museum of natural history was placed under their charge. The first normal school established by the State in 1844 was placed under the joint supervision of the regents and the superintendent of public instruction. The regents have also been charged with the task of re-examining and re-marking the boundaries of the State, and have recently, in connection with commissioners of New Jersey, completed the re-establishment of the monuments on the land boundary between the two States. In 1863 the regents organized an annual meeting of the officers of the colleges and academies under their visitation, called the University Convocation. It is held each year in July at the Capitol in Albany. The papers and discussions of the successive sessions of this body have been of great educational interest and value. They comprise contributions from such scholars as Dr. Tayler Lewis, President Barnard, President Anderson, Professor Wilson, Professor O'Leary, Professor B. N. Martin, Professor North, and many others.

The year 1884 will complete a century from the establishment of the university. This long period has witnessed great changes in the educational condition of the State of New York. One feeble college, whose property had been dissipated and its faculty and students scattered by war, represented all that the State could show for a system of education. The people, through their churches and voluntary associations were striving to

do something to supply their children with instruction, but the State had as yet done nothing. Set by the side of this the record of the State as it stands at the close of the century: its universities and colleges, its schools of law and medicine, its academies and high schools, its system of public schools free to every child in city or country. It is, indeed, a century of progress, of which the citizen of New York may be proud. Something of this may be claimed as due to the wise and provident legislation which began the century by the establishment of a State university, to comprise within it all the institutions for secondary and higher education. The celebration of the centennial anniversary of this university, which has been appointed to be held at the University Convocation in July, 1884, will be an event of notable interest.

Such are some of the principal features of the University of the State of New York. It is evident that in its growth and development it has not entirely followed the lines designed for it by its founders. That it has not, may to many seem a matter of regret. It might be interesting to imagine the result which would have followed had the original and fundamental idea of the university been kept in view. As now we should have had colleges planted in different parts of the State, and representing different religious and educational influences. But the university idea would have been paramount; and while the colleges would have been as now independent in their financial and internal administration, they would have looked to the university for examinations and degrees. The advantages of such a scheme would be found in the maintenance of a higher and a uniform standard of scholarship, and in the healthy stimulus which would be furnished to all the institutions of learning thus associated. But it is vain to indulge regret. It has never been possible to confine the development of American institutions within fixed lines. Our schools and our colleges have become what they are by influences beyond control, and often in spite of guidance. They are American in their characteristics; in their faults as well as in their excellences. Owing their origin and their plan of organization to the Old World, their development into their present forms has been directed by influences peculiar to the New. They will work out for themselves a result which will fit in with the characteristics of our people and our times. In the mean time the University of the State of New York and its board of regents have, if not entirely in the direction and manner intended, fulfilled and are fulfilling a great and beneficent purpose.

David Murray

HISTORICAL CRITICISM

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
16 May, 1883.

MY DEAR MRS. LAMB,

Before your accession to the editorial chair, an article appeared in the Magazine of American History for April, 1883 (page 300), animadverting upon the first volume of the last edition of my History of the United States. Lest it should mislead any one, a word or two upon it seems to be required.

In this last edition there is nothing that attributes to Ponce de Leon the first discovery of Florida. As to the voyage of Gosnold in 1602, it is said in my revised edition and is correctly said, notwithstanding the reviewer, that the voyage was undertaken with the permission of Sir Walter Raleigh. Immediately on Gosnold's return from this voyage a report was made of it by one of Gosnold's companions expressly for Raleigh, and was forthwith printed in London, and it bears this title: "A Briefe and true Relation of the Discoverie of the North part of Virginia; being a most pleasant, fruitfull and commodious soile; Made this present yeere 1602, by Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold, Captain Bartholomew Gilbert, and divers other gentlemen, their associats,

BY THE PERMISSION

OF THE HONORABLE KNIGHT,

SIR WALTER RALEIGH, &c.

Written by M. John Brereton, one of the voyage. * * * * *
Londini: Impensis *Geor. Bishop.* 1602."

Raleigh was displeased that Gosnold or some of his companions had infringed on his monopoly by bringing back "sassafras wood" for the London market; but he favored every attempt to plant "an English nation" in America.

As to the voyage of Waymouth in 1605, the account of its landfall and discoveries was revised after the most careful inquiry. John McKeen, of

Brunswick, Maine, proved beyond a doubt that the old theory, that Waymouth entered the Penobscot, could not be maintained; George Prince of Bath, confirmed by David Cushman of Warren, decided that the island which he struck was Monhegan; that the group of islands among which he passed was the St. George's; that the river which he entered was the St. George's. I have private letters from Maine to the same effect; but to leave no room for uncertainty I went to my friend Mr. Bache, then the chief of the Coast Survey, and he and the surveyors specially employed by him in the survey of that part of the coast of Maine explained to me that beyond a doubt Waymouth touched at Monhegan Island, that the mountains which he writes that he saw at the east north east were the Camden Mountains, that the islands through which he passed were the St. George's Islands, that the river which he ascended was the river of St. George. The Magazine of April sets forth that I send Waymouth where there is no harbor. I have been again to the Coast Survey, and asked if there are harbors in that region, and the answer was "good harbors in abundance." As to the depth of the river which the Magazine represents as having so little water that fish can barely swim in it, the Coast Survey chart tells the very different story, that there is a river of great uniform depth. Any one who knows the coast of Maine, and reads the description of Waymouth with the charts of the Coast Survey before him will see that the case is clear beyond a question.

Forgive me, dear Mrs. Lamb, for troubling you with this letter; but your name now adds authority to the Magazine, and I am sure you will wish that no one should be misled.

Yours very truly,

Geo. Bancroft

CONCERNING THE VIRGINIA PIONEERS

AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICAN GENEALOGY FROM THE
BRITISH MINISTER AT WASHINGTON.

NORWOOD, VIRGINIA, May 21, 1883.

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY:

Dear Madam :

I send you an interesting bit of genealogy, as it corrects my paper published in the January (1883) number of your Magazine, which I hope you will kindly publish.

Yours very truly and most respectfully,

ALEXANDER BROWN.

The list of the children of Sir Thomas West, second Lord De la Warr, given in my paper on Sir Thomas West third Lord—in Magazine of January, 1883—was taken from the family pedigree at Buckhurst, Withyham, Sussex, and sent to me in June, 1882, by the British Minister at Washington. The correct order of birth was not given, neither were the dates. As I was very anxious to obtain these, I wrote to a friend in Dorsetshire, England, asking him to obtain for me, if possible, a list of the children, with dates of birth, etc., from "*The Bennet Roll*," which is referred to by the late Joseph Lemuel Chester, LL.D., in his paper on "Herbert Pelham, his Ancestors and Descendants," in the New England Hist. and Gen^l Register, for July, 1879, pp. 285-295. Col. Chester says, "As an instance of the accuracy, minuteness and importance of this *roll* I may mention that it gives the precise days of birth of no less than thirteen children of Lord De la Warr, many of whom do not appear in the peerages, with the names of their sponsors. It is probably the only record of them, as the parish register of Wherwell, of that period, has long since disappeared."

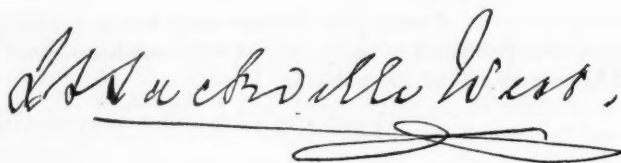
My friend was unable to find the "aged maiden lady of Castle Carey," in whose possession the roll was, and Mr. Cokayne, of The Herald's Office, was unable to find Col. Chester's copy. I, also, wrote to the British Minister at Washington, from whom I have recently received the following letter and extract from "*The Bennet Roll*."

BRITISH LEGATION, WASHINGTON, D. C., 2 May, 1883.

MY DEAR SIR:

With reference to your letter of the 13th, Nov^r 1882 on the subject of the "Bennet Roll," I now inclose to you a copy of that portion of it which relates to the West Family obtained by my sister the Countess of Derby from the old maiden Lady of Castle Carey, and copied as you will perceive by the Vicar of Castle Carey. . . .

Yours very Truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Asa Ackville West", followed by a decorative flourish.

EXTRACT FROM THE "REGISTER OF SEVERALL OF THE ANCESTORS OF SAMUEL BENNET AND HIS WIFE KATHERINE WITH THEIR SEVERALL ALLIANCES BY MARRIAGES FOR FOURE GENERATIONS, ANNO DOM: 1693."

"By my wives mother's mother's father: my great great grandfather *Thomas West*, Lord *De-la-Ware* married *Anne Knollys* daughter of *Sir Francis Knollys*, Treasurer of the Queens majesties household, an officer of the Lord *De-la-Ware* House in *Sussex*—the 19th day of November Anno Dom—1571.—

My great great Aunt *Elizabeth West*, the eldest daughter of the said Thomas and Anne was borne the 11th day of September betwen 3 & 4 of the clock in the afternoone, 1573, the Queen's Maiestie and the Countess of Lincoln godmothers, the Earl of Leicester godfather, Friday at *Wherwell*.

My great great uncle *Robert West*, their eldest son was born the 3^d of January between 6 & 7 of the clock in the morning 1574, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Knollys, godfather, the Countess of Warwick godmother. *Wherwell*, Munday.—

My great great uncle *Thomas West*, their second son was born the 9th of

July between 2 and 3 of the clock in the afternoone 1577—Sir Thomas Sherley, M^r West of Testwood, godfathers, the Lady Anne Askin godmother. Thursday at Wherwell.—

My great great uncle *Walsingham West*, their third son was born November the 13th between 10 and 11 of the clock at night 1578. The Lord De-la-Ware their [grand]father, Sir Francis Walsingham, godfathers, the Countess of Pembroke godmother, at Westover.

My great great Aunt *Lettis West*, their daughter was born the 24th of November, between 10 and 11 of the clock in the morning 1579, the Countess of Essex, the Lady Leyghton, godmothers, the Lord Hunsdon, godfather. Tuesday.—

My great great Aunt *Anne West*, their daughter was born the 21st of May presently after midnight 1581, the Lady Anne Askin, the Lady Cary, godmothers, and Sir Christopher Hatton, godfather, Sunday.—

My great grand mother *Penelope West*, their daughter was born the 9th day of September 1582 between one and 2 of the clock in the afternoon, the Lady Rich and the Old Lady Chandose, godmothers, M^r Philip Sidney & M^r Folke Grevell, godfathers.

My great great Aunt *Katherine West*, their daughter was born the 27th December 1583 between 10 and 11 of the clock in the forenoone, the Countess of Huntingdon and the Lady Howard godmothers, William Knollys, godfather, Friday, Winchester.—

My great great Uncle *Francis West*, their fourth son was born the 28th of October 1586 between 12 and 1 of the clock at noone, Sir Francis Knollys, M^r Francis Hastings, godfathers, the Countess of Hartford godmother, Saturday.—

My great great Aunt *Helena West* their daughter was born December the 15th 1587 at 7 of the clock in the morning, the Lady Marquis of North-Hampton, the Lady Sidney, godmothers, the Earl of Essex godfather, on Friday.—

My great great Aunt *Anne West* their daughter was born the 13th of February 1588 between 2 and 3 of the clock in the morning, the Lady Hennige and M^{rs} Edmonds godmothers, M^r John Stanhupe godfather, on Thursday at Testwood.—

My great great Uncle *John West* their fifth son was born the 14th of December 1590 between 5 and 6 of the clock in the afternoone, Sir John Norris, M^r John Foskir, godfathers, M^{rs} Scudamore, M^{rs} Ratcliffe, godmothers at Testwood Munday.

My great great Uncle *Nathaniel West* their sixth son was born November the 30th 1592 between 2 and 3 of the clock in the morning, Sir Francis

Knollys Jun. M^r Tasburgh, godfathers, the Lady Ro. Knollys godmother at Causum on Thursday."

"The above was copied from the original word for word and line for line by me.

A. W. Grafton, Vicar of Castle Carey.

April 10th 1883."

NOTE.—I have copied Mr. Grafton's copy, I believe, "*word for word*," but not "*line for line*."

It seems that Elizabeth West, who is said to have married Sir Richard Saltonstall, must have been the daughter of the third Lord De la Warr, the first Governor of Virginia.

"Mr. West, of *Testwood*," a sponsor to *Thomas West*, was evidently his great uncle, who is described by Collins as "*Sir Thomas West of Seltwood*, in com. Southampton, Kent."

The list of sponsors is very interesting, beginning as it does with Queen Elizabeth, Surrey's "*Fair Geraldine*," and the Earl of Leicester; but as most of them are prominent historic characters, they are well known to the readers of the *Magazine of American History*, and will need no further notice here.

ALEXANDER BROWN.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

TESTAMENT DE M. LE COMTE DE FRONTENAC

Le 22 Novembre 1698.

[For the copy of this curious will we are indebted to George Stewart, Jr., of Quebec. Frontenac directed that his heart should be sent to his wife in a case of lead or silver. His enemies reported that she refused to accept it, saying that she had never had it when he was living, and did not want it when he was dead.—EDITOR.]

Pardevant les Notaires Gardenotes du Roy en la paroisse de Québec soussignez ;

Fut présent Haut & Puissant Seigneur Messire Louis de Buade, Comte de Palluan et de Frontenac, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, Chevalier de l'ordre de Jérusalem, Gouv^r. Lieut. Gen^l. pour Sa Majesté en tout ce pays de la France Septentrionale, Syndic apostolique, Père & protecteur spirituel de l'ordre des Très Rev^{ds} P. Recollets en ce dict pays, gisant grièvement malade en son fauteuil, dans sa chambre, au chasteau de cette ville ; mais cependant sain d'esprit, mémoire et entendement ainsi qu'est apparu aux dicts notaires ; le quel Seigneur a dict que le grief mal qui le travaille ne luy permettant pas de songer a l'état de ses affaires et biens temporels pour en disposer présentement comme il voudrait le pouvoir faire : Qu'au moins ayant toujours en singulière attention et dévotion d'estre inhumé et enterré en l'Eglise des dits Pères Recollets de cette ville, il veut en ce chef, faire par ces présentes. Son testament et ordonnance de dernière volonté, pour éviter les obstacles et contradictions qui pourraient y être apportées, sans cela, s'il arrive qu'il plaise à Dieu le retirer de cette vye mortelle par cette maladie sans avoir le temps de faire plus ample testament. Pourquoi déclare le dict Seigneur qu'il ordonne, veut et entend, en ce cas, même prie & repriert que son corps soit, après son décez, porté, inhumé & enterré dans la dite église des Rev^{ds}. Pères Recollets de cette dicte ville, en la manière et avec les simples cérémonies que les dicts pères jugeront à propos luy être convenables en la dicte qualité de Syndic Apostolique, père et protecteur spirituel de leur ordre en ce dict pays ; Souhaitant et désirant que sa dévotion et piété soit satisfait à cet égard, sans empêchement ny obstacle de quelque part que ce soit, telle étant sa dernière volonté.

Et comme Madame Anne de la Grange son épouse, peut souhaiter comme luy, que le cœur de luy seigneur testateur soit transporté en la Chapelle de Mess^{rs} de Montmort, dans l'Eglise St. Nicolas des Champs à Paris, en laquelle sont inhumés Mad^{me} de Montmort sa sœur, et Monsieur l'Abbé d'Obasine son oncle ; il veut qu'à cet effet son cœur soit séparé de son corps & mis en garde dans une boîte de plomb ou d'argent—Et en surplus donne en aumosne en faveur des dits Rev. P. Recollets de ce pays, entre les mains du Sieur de Boutteville, leur syndic ordinaire et receveur

de leurs aumosnes la Somme de 1500^{lvs}. monnoye de France, pour être employée à l'achevement de la bâtisse ou autres nécessités de leur convent de cette ville, à prendre sur les biens et effets qui se trouveront appartenans à luy seigneur testateur en ce d. pays au jour de son décez ; et ce à la charge de dire et célébrer par les d. Rev. P. Recollets de la d. Eglise de cette ville, tous les jours, une Messebasse pendant l'an du décez du dit Seigneur testateur pour le repos de son âme ; en outre un service annuel tous les ans à perpétuité, à pareil jour de son décez ; lequel service annuel il désire et veut être appliqué conjointement pour la d^e Dame son épouse lorsqu'elle sera décédée—Et pour faire exécuter son dit présent testament a nommé les S^{rs} François Hazeur, marchand bour^s de cette ville conjoint^t avec le Sieur Ch^t de Monseignat, son premier Secrétaire, comme aussi pour prendre soin de l'état de ses affaires & biens qui peuvent être à présent ou luy venir cy-après en ce d. pays par les vaisseaux de l'an prochain : Pourquoi le d. Seign^r testateur pryé M. de Champigny Intendant de les appuyer de sa protection et autorité pour l'accomplissem^t de ce que dessus ; le priant aussy de régler ce qu'il jugera à propos à l'égard de tous ses domestiques pour qu'ils soient satisfaits—Donnant et lèquant iceluy Seign^r testateur à Duchonguet son valet de chambre, toute sa garde-robe, consistant en ses habits linge & autres hardes d'icelle, avec la petite vaisselle d'argent dépend^t de la dite garde-robe ; et ce en considération des services que le dit Duchonguet luy a rendu jusqu'à présent.

Et pour marque de la confiance qu'à luy Seign^r testateur aux protestations d'amitié que le dict Seign^r Intendant luy a faictes, il le pryé d'accepter un crucifix de bois de Calambourg que Mad^e de Montmort, sa sœur lui a esté en mourant et qu'il a toujours gardé depuis comme une véritable relique et pryé aussi Mad^e l'Intendant de vouloir recevoir le Reliquaire qu'il avait accoutumé de porter, et qui est remply des plus rares et plus précieuses reliques qui se puissent rencontrer.

Et le dit présent testament accomply, ses domestiques et dettes contractées en ce pays étant payés, auront soin les dits Exécuteurs de remettre en mains de Madame la Comtesse, épouse de luy seigneur testateur, ce qui se trouvera du reste de ses dits biens en ce pays.

Ce fut ainsi fait, dicté et nommé de mot à mot, par le dit Seigneur testateur et à luy lu et relu par Génaple l'un des dits Notaires, l'autre présent que le dit Seigneur a dict avoir bien entendu et être sa vraye intention et ordonnance de dernière volonté à laquelle il s'anête seule ; déclarant qu'il révoque tous autres testaments qu'il pourrait avoir cy-devant faicts, se tenant uniquement au présent.

Faict et passé en la d^e chambre du dit testateur, après midy, sur les quatre heures le vingt deuxième jour de Novembre mil six cens quatre-vingt-dix-huit,

Et a le dit Seign^r testateur avec nous Notaires signé.

Louis de Buade Frontenac

Génaple

Rageot

TWO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM JOHN ADAMS

One written from France in 1778 to Samuel Adams, the other written from Philadelphia, nearly a score of years later, to Tristram Dalton.

From the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet

(FIRST LETTER)

TO HON SAMUEL ADAMS

PASSY, December 7, 1778.

My dear Sir

On the 21st May, I wrote you a very long letter on the subject of foreign affairs in general, and particularly in this country; on the 28th July, I wrote another lengthy letter; on the 7th August I wrote you again in answer to yours of 21st June, which is all that I have ever received from you. On the 17th November I wrote you again. I hope some of these have reached you, but so many vessels have been taken that I fear some have miscarried.

I wish I could unbosom myself to you without reserve, concerning the state of affairs here, but you know the danger. The two passions of ambition and avarice, which have been the bane of society and the curse of human kind in all ages and countries, are not without their influence upon our affairs here, but I fancy the last of the two has done the most mischief. Where the carcass is there the crows will assemble, and you and I have had too much experience of the greediness with which the loaves and fishes were aimed at under the old government, and with which the Continental treasury has been sought for under the new, to expect that the coffers of the American banker here would not make some men's mouth water. This appetite for the banker's treasure I take to have been the source of most of the altercations and dissensions here.

Your old friend is a man of honor and integrity, although to be very frank and very impartial, he cannot easily at all times, any more than your humble servant, govern his temper—and he has some notions of elegance, rank, and dignity, that may be carried rather too far. He has been of opinion that the public money has been too freely issued here, and has often opposed it. The other you know personally, and that he loves his ease, hates to offend, and seldom gives any opinion until obliged to do it. I know also, and it is necessary you should be informed, that he is overwhelmed with a correspondence from all quarters, mostly upon trifling subjects, and in a more trifling style; and with unmeaning visits from multitudes of people, chiefly from the vanity of having it to say that they have seen him. There is another thing which I am obliged to mention; there are so many private families, ladies and gentlemen that he visits so often, and they are so fond of him that he can not well avoid it, that all these things together keep his mind in such a constant state of dissipation, that if he is left alone here, the public business will suffer in a degree beyond description, provided our affairs are continued upon the present footing.

If indeed you take out of his hands the public treasury, and the direction of the frigates and Continental vessels that are sent here, and all commercial affairs, and intrust them to persons to be appointed by Congress, I should think it would be best to have him here alone, with such a secretary as you can confide in. But if he is left here thus, and all maritime and commercial and pecuniary as well as political affairs are left in his hands, I am persuaded that France and America both will have reason to repent it. He is not only so indolent that business will be neglected; but you know that although he has as determined a soul as any man, yet it is his constant policy never to say yes or no decidedly, but when he cannot avoid it; and it is certain, in order to preserve the Friendship between the two countries, your Minister here must upon some occasions speak freely and without reserve, preserving decency and politeness at the same time.

Both he and the other colleague were, I am sorry to say it, in a constant opposition to your old friend, and this misunderstanding was no secret at court, in the city, or in the seaport towns, either to French, English, or Americans, and this was carried so far that insinuations, I have been told, have been made at court against your old friend, not by either his colleagues, that I have ever heard, but probably by somebody or other emboldened by and taking advantage of the misunderstanding among the three, that he was too the English, too much attached to Lord Shelburne, and that he corresponded with his Lordship, and even communicated intelligence to him. This, whoever suggested it, I am perfectly confident, was a cruel calumny, and could not have made an impression if the colleagues had contradicted it in the manner that you and I should have done. You and I had opportunity to know his invariable attachment to our cause long before hostilities commenced, and I have not a color of ground for suspicion, that from that time to this he has deviated an iota from the cause of his country, in thought, word, or deed. When he left England, or soon after, he wrote a letter of mere compliment to his lordship, a mere card, to bid him farewell, and received such another card in return, which he assures me are all the letters that ever passed between them, and I have not a doubt of the truth of it.

[The other gentleman, whom you know, I need not say much, as you know his ambitious desire of making a fortune and of promoting his relatives.] You know his art and his enterprise. Such characters are often useful, although always to be carefully watched and counteracted, specially in such a government as ours.

There has been so much said in America and among Americans here, about his making a fortune by speculating in English funds and by private trade, that it is saying nothing new to mention it. Our countrymen will naturally desire to know if it is true, and it will be expected of me that I shall say something of it. I assure you I know nothing about it: an intimate friend of his, who recommended the major to you, speculated largely in the funds, from whence the suspicion arose that the other was concerned with him; but I know of no proof that he was. Combinations, associations, copartnership in trade have been formed here in which he and his brothers are supposed to be concerned, but I know nothing more than you do about them.

But supposing it was proved that he speculated and traded, the question is whether it was justifiable. Neither you nor I should have done it most certainly. Nor should it have been forgiven or excused in either of us. Whoever makes profits in public life neither of us must be the man. But that does not prove it unlawful in him. If he did not employ the public money, nor so much of his time as to neglect the public business, where is the harm? That is the question: and it ought to be remembered that he was here a long time, not as ambassador, envoy, commissioner, minister, or in any other trust or character from Congress—but merely as an agent for the Committees of Commerce and Correspondence.

Some of the gentlemen of character, who are now in America from this country, particularly the minister and consul, although their characters are very good, it is to be feared, have had prejudices insinuated into them against your old correspondent. I am certainly sorry for this because I think it is against a worthy character, and because it will be likely to have unhappy effects both with you and abroad.

The other gentleman, whose consolation when left out by his first constituents was that he stood well with the body to which he was sent, consoled himself also when recalled with the thought that he was afterward to be sent where he had formerly wished. This no doubt will be displayed in all its variegated colors. The letter from the minister, expressing high esteem, the present from a higher personage, and above all the fleet and the magnificence that accompanied it will be all repeated and wrung in changes in order to magnify merit. Yet I am sorry to see in the newspapers such expressions as these—'Mr. — who was the principal negotiator'—Such expressions, if true, ought not to be used, because they have only a tendency to occasion division and animosity, and cannot do any good. But there is cause to doubt the justice of them. In short, I think upon an examination of the Treaties and a comparison of them with the Treaties and Instructions sent from Congress, I think it is possible that there was not much discussion in the case. I wish with all my heart there had been more.

This letter is not so free as I wish to write you, but still it is too free to be used without discretion. You will use it only for the public good, knowing the animosity that has been in two against me here, which I believe to have been carried unwarrantable lengths knowing the — of many subaltern and collateral characters which I think is injurious to the individual as well as the public, and knowing that you will have these things in contemplation and much at heart, I have said this much of my sentiments upon these subjects, which I hope will do no harm.

Believe me to be your friend

JOHN ADAMS

(SECOND LETTER.)

MR. DALTON

PHILADELPHIA, *January 19. 1797**Dear Sir*

I received this morning with great pleasure your friendly letter of the 16th and thank you for your kind congratulations on the event which seems determined in the public opinion, though not yet legally ascertained.

I have lost by the course of years so many of my friends, and so many others in their old age have become weathercocks that the sight of correspondence of a few who have proved invariable is delightful to be beyond all expression.

I have seen very little of the trash that was circulated in handbills in the late election although I am told large quantities of them were sent in my direction, at a great expense of some party or some power. The use made of my defence gave me no pain. The more they write and the more they lie about those volumes, the more good they do. They have caused them to be read in the last six months by more persons than would have read them in an hundred years. It is very difficult to stimulate people to read such writings, but faction has accomplished what curiosity would never have effected. I have been three times tried for those Books by the people of America and as often acquitted, and hope if I should ever see another election to be tried again. If the French gentlemen of the best intelligence in this place are not much deceived, those principles will be adopted in France more easily than ever, very soon. They say the directory will be reduced to one. Those Books have already got the better of Franklin's dreams and have raised France out of the vilest anarchy and dirtiest sansculottory to some degree of order and safety of life and property, I wish they could excite in the government a better sense of justice and decency towards the country. Our antifeds have had emissaries of their own kidney at Paris, who have made the French believe that this country was so devoted to France as to force its government to do as she would have them as soon as she should show resentment. We shall see of what stuff American souls are made.

If any share in the direction of our executive should fall to me, I shall stand in need of all the aid my friends can give me. My dependence will be upon the sense, spirit, and resources of the people under an humble hope of the divine blessing.

I shall always be happy to hear of your welfare, and always grateful for any assistance you may afford me. I am with sincere

affection your friend

JOHN ADAMS

P. S.—Mr. Jefferson letters and declarations are no surprise to me. We labored together in high friendship in 1776, and have lived and acted together very frequently since that time. His talents and information I know very well, and have ever believed in his honor, integrity, his love of his country and his friends. I may say to you that his patronage of Paine and Freneau and his entanglement with characters and politics which have been pernicious, are, and have long been a source of inquietude

and anxiety to me, as they must have been to you. But I hope and believe that his advancement and his situation in the Senate, an excellent school, will correct him. He will have too many French friends about him to flatter him; but I hope we can keep him steady.

This is *entre nous*.

J. A.

TO EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

While examining a few of the fifteen millions of manuscripts contained in the former Franciscan Monastery of this city, being the archives of Venice for a thousand years—the earliest are dated 883—I came upon a letter addressed by Messrs. Adams, Franklin and Jefferson, in 1784, to the Ambassador of the Republic of Venice to the Court of France, a copy of which I append herewith thinking it may be of interest to the readers of your Magazine. I am,

Very truly yours,

JAS. GRANT WILSON,

Venice, 26 April, 1833.

(THE LETTER.)

Sir,

PASSY near PARIS, *Dec, 1784*

The United States of America in Congress assembled, judging that an intercourse between the said UNITED STATES and the most serene REPUBLIC OF VENICE, founded on the principles of equality, reciprocity and friendship may be of mutual advantage to both nations, on the twelfth day of May last, issued their commission under the seal of the said STATES to the subscribers as their Ministers Plenipotentiary giving to them, or the majority of them, full power and authority for them, the said STATES, and in their name to confer, treat and negotiate with the Ambassador, Minister or Commissioner of the said most serene REPUBLIC OF VENICE, vested with full and sufficient powers of and concerning a Treaty of amity and commerce to make and receive propositions for such Treaty and to conclude and sign the same, transmitting it to the said UNITED STATES in Congress assembled for their final ratification.

We have now the honor to inform your Excellency that we have received the Commission in due form and that we are here ready to enter on the negotiation whenever a full power from the said most serene REPUBLIC OF VENICE shall appear for that purpose.

We have further the honor to request of your Excellency that you should transmit this information to your Court, and to be with great respect,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient and

Most sincere servants

JOHN ADAMS.

B. FRANKLIN.

THOS. JEFFERSON.

His Excellency—

The Chevalier Delfino

Ambassador from the Republic of Venice.

NOTES

MEMORABILIA—An instructive table prepared by J. M. LeMoine, F. R. S. C., President of the Quebec Historical Society, for the information of the Delegates of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, on their memorable excursion to Quebec, 26th August, 1882, is as follows :

Jacques Cartier landed on the banks of river Saint Charles.....	Sept. 14, 1535
Quebec founded by Samuel de Champlain,	July 3, 1608
Fort St. Louis built at Quebec.....	1620-4
Quebec surrendered to Admiral Kirk.....	1629
Quebec returned to the French.....	1632
Death of Champlain, the first Governor,	Dec. 25, 1635
Settlement formed at Sillery.....	1637
A Royal Government instituted at Quebec.	1663
Quebec unsuccessfully besieged by Admiral Phipps.....	1690
Count de Frontenac died	Nov. 28, 1698
Battle of the Plains of Abraham, Sept. 13,	1759
Capitulation of Quebec.....	Sept. 18, 1759
Battle of St. Foye—a French victory,	April 28, 1760
Canada ceded by treaty to England.....	1763
Blockade of Quebec by Generals Montgomery and Arnold.....	Nov. 10, 1775
Death of Montgomery.....	31st Dec., 1775
Retreat of Americans from Quebec, May 6,	1776
Division of Canada into Upper and Lower Canada.....	1791
Citadel of Quebec built by Imperial Government	1823
Insurrection in Canada.....	1837
Second Insurrection.....	1838
Union of the two Provinces in one.....	1840
Dominion of Canada formed.....	July 1, 1867
Departure of English troops from Citadel.	1870
Second Centenary of Foundation of Bishopric of Quebec by Monseigneur Laval,	Oct. 1st, 1674, 1874
Centenary of Repulse of Arnold and Montgomery before Quebec on 31st Dec. 1775,	31st Dec. 1875

Dufferin Plans of City embellishment	
Christmas day.....	1875
Departure of the Earl of Dufferin, 18th Oct,	1878
Arrival of the Marquis of Lorne and Princess Louise.....	20th Nov., 1878
Dufferin Terrace named, 9th July.....	1879
" City Gates, St. Louis and Kent, erected.....	1879

GENERAL WOLFE—On the death of General Wolfe a premium was offered for the best epitaph on that officer. One of the candidates for the prize sent a poem, of which the following stanza is a specimen :
 " He marched without dread or fears
 At the head of his bold grenadiers ;
 And what was more remarkable, nay, very particular,
 He climbed up rocks that were perpendicular."

LEWIS

HISTORICAL ERRORS—No class of minor errors in history is more noticeable, by one who must read somewhat critically, than those which occur in the mention of days by name with dates. In testing these I use the convenient and I think accurate formula : Divide the number expressing the year by 4, and take no notice of the remainder, if any ; find the number of days, inclusive from the 1st of January to the date in hand, always taking but 28 days in February ; add together this sum, the quotient and the first number, and divide their sum by 7. The figure of the remainder gives the day of the week—if 1, the first day, or Sunday, and so on to 6 or Friday. If there is no remainder, the day is of course Saturday. In the case of any day already known, I have never found this to fail. *E. g.*, it is well known that the

battle of Waterloo was fought on Sunday, June 18, 1815. Now, by the formula :

$$\begin{array}{r} 4)1815 \\ 453 \\ \hline 169 \end{array}$$

$$7)2437$$

$$348+1, \text{ or the 1st}$$

day of the week.

I happen to have before me the "Magazine of American History" for December, 1881. The first case to which the test is applicable occurs on p. 414, 9th line from the bottom, where a resolution is said to have been passed by the New York Provincial Convention on "Sunday, the 6th January, 1776." The ready inference is that the exigencies of the moment must have been serious, or the convention would not have been sitting in holy time. But this is corrected at once when we find by the rule that the session was on Saturday, which was the 6th day of January in that year.

Similar errors, and each but one day, occur on p. 426, where Major General Philemon Dickinson, of New Jersey, is recorded to have died on Friday, February 4, 1809, and been buried on Tuesday, the 8th. Saturday and Wednesday are the two days.

Twenty pages later (446), in the first column, three statements of a date are corrected of error, again by one day, the right date being either Wednesday, Sept. 20, 1781, or Thursday, Sept. 21, 1781—more probable the latter, as in two cases the date is that of publication of the *Maryland Gazette*, and is quite certainly correct in the name of the day, a part of the journalistic head standing from week to week, while the printer might easily err in the number changed every week.

Indeed, the printers of those days, in the general scarcity of almanacs and calendars, must have been singularly careless in changing their date lines; or perhaps there have been errors of transcription. A certain November issue of the *Maryland Journal* and *Baltimore Advertiser* in 1781, must have been on Tuesday the 14th, if not on Monday the 13th—certainly not on Tuesday the 13th (p. 449), and the *Maryland Gazette* must have come out a little earlier on Thursday, October 12 (ibid) and Thursday, November 9 (p. 451).

On p. 465, 2d column, the month given as that of arrival of the French delegates to Yorktown is corrected by figuring Wednesday, the 12th, as correct for October, but not for November. Other data on the same page, however, apart from recollection, help to this. The several days named on the next page, near the end, on pp. 468 and 469, for the meetings of certain historical societies; and on 470 and 471, in connection with the Yorktown Centennial, are shown to be correct; while another (on 468) must be changed to Thursday, October 6 (1883), or to Saturday, October 8.

Thus, out of seventeen cases (all that occur) of association of the day of the week with its number in this month, in a single copy of so accurate and carefully edited a periodical as the "Magazine of American History," we find twelve, or more than two-thirds, to be wrong, while but five are right. The necessity of our formula is clearly apparent.

There are uses of the rule which will occur, at least upon occasion, to every worker in this field.

HENRY A. FORD

DETROIT, May 1, 1883.

MAIL COACHES—S. C. Hall, in his Recollections of things that have been, says :

"The last time I travelled by a mail-coach was to Cambridge before the Great Eastern line was finished. Half the journey was by railway ; the other half by coach. It was a day of breeze and sunshine. The coachman was one of the last of the old race. I mounted upon the box-seat, and sat by his side ; at the crack of his whip, off went four fine horses at a spanking pace. I rubbed my hands with glee, and said, 'What a delicious change from the hissing and howling railroad I have left !' The man looked at me with a glance of strong approval. The coach was going at the rate of twelve miles an hour, as I added, 'and I'm sure this travelling is fast enough for any one !' He looked at me again : 'Eh ?' said he ; '*them as wants to go faster, let 'em get out and run !*'

"Akin to this, is an incident that happened to me not long ago, when landed at the Quay at Kingstown. Up, as usual, ran the car-drivers ; each pressing me to let him convey me to Dublin, distant six miles. 'Oh, no !' said I ; 'I'm going by the railroad.' One of them stared at me in astonishment, and exclaimed : 'Well, I wonder at your honor ! You an English gentleman, maybe for the first time in Ireland — that wouldn't rather be whisked up to Dublin in my nate little car, than be *dragged up to Dublin at the tail of a tea-kettle !*'"

COLD WINTERS—During the winters of 1874-5, 1875-6, and 1876-7, the suffering of the poor in this city from privation, cold, and want of employment were unprecedented in the history of the Metropolis. Every day during these long winters, from 3 o'clock in the afternoon un-

til 6:30, Mr. PETER COOPER sat in his office or library on Lexington Avenue, and no one, however shabby in dress, was refused admission. On the table before him were piled hundreds of newly-coined half dollars and piles of one-dollar greenbacks, and these piles were replenished every hour by the servant in attendance. His rule was to give every applicant half a dollar in any event, and if the case seemed to be a specially urgent one, the *douceur* was doubled, with a request either to write a history of the case, have it authenticated by some clergyman or other authority, and send it in for further consideration. As early as 2:30 o'clock in the afternoon crowds of poverty-stricken people—men and women of every nationality and position in life—might be seen gathered in front of the Lexington Avenue residence, and the amount expended often amounted to \$200 in a single day, irrespective of the special cases that were more carefully inquired into, and in which special aid was given. Most of the applicants were strangers, and many, of course, were downright frauds. But the old man proceeded upon the principle that it is better to be deceived by many than to deny one deserving sufferer. He could afford, he used to say, to give half a dollar to anybody who asked for it, irrespective of the merits of the applicant, and time did not permit him to inquire too minutely into the circumstances. His heaviest week during any season aggregated \$1,500 ; it was considerable money to spend on mendicants ; but, as the old man said, the ministers would take care of those who belonged to their denominations, and some one must take care of those who were neither Episcopalians nor Methodists, Presbyterians nor Catholics.

It was those who had no religious affiliations who were most liable to suffer without any resources or remedy; and it was for this class that he kept up his distribution of half-dollars.—*New York Tribune*.

A CURIOUS BLUNDER—Sir Walter Scott perpetrates a curious blunder in one of his novels in making certain of his characters behold a sunset over the water of a seaport on the *Eastern Coast of Scotland*.

S. B.

QUERIES

WHERE can be found a poem called "Smoke," supposed to have been published about thirty-five or forty years ago, in "Bentley's Miscellany?" It is a small poem, and a very beautiful one. I would like to have it.

BENJAMIN HARRIS BREWSTER
WASHINGTON, D. C.

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY—May I ask your readers for an answer to the following question:—Who was the author of the paragraph, "To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace"?

W. W. W.

BUFFALO, *New York*.

FURTHER information is desired concerning Capt. Henry Hewling, who, July 6, 1790, filed, with the Commissioners of the Land Office of New York, his "claim to a Bounty right of land, as Capt.," in consequence of "military services in the late line" of New York, in the service of the United States. There is some reason to think that he was from the vicinity of Gloucester County, New Jersey.

Two persons named Hewling, Hewlings, or Huling, also from New Jersey, are said to have been slain in the battle of Bunker Hill. Are there in existence, rolls of the New York and New Jersey troops engaged in that battle?

RAY GREENE HULING
FITCHBURG, *Mass.*

ARE any of the descendants living of Dr. Peter Middleton, who is named in the Charter of the New York Hospital, granted by George III. in 1770? An act having been passed by the New York Assembly for founding the Hospital, the corner stone was laid in July, 1773.

JAMES MUHLENBERG BAILEY
NEW YORK, *May 22, 1883.*

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY: Can any of your readers tell me who wrote the first book on Astronomy, published in America for the use of schools? And what of its size and general characteristics?

ARCHIBALD DORR
NEW ORLEANS, *La.*

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY—A very old expression is, "Nine tailors make a man." Can any one inform me the meaning of it, and how it came to be used?

MACOMBER

Who will explain the origin and meaning of the two pretty maiden names of Lucy and Priscilla?

WALTER SANFORD
NEW YORK, *May 25.*

REPLIES

MIND YOUR P's AND Q's (ix. 391)—This is said to have originated in the printing office; p and q in Roman type are easily confounded when reversed, as they necessarily are in type, hence this caution to a young compositor. Some claim it to be a French dancing master's directions to his pupils to mind their piers (feet) and queues when making a bow.

CHARLES ESTABROOK

Librarian, Newburgh Free Library, New York.

MIND YOUR P's AND Q's—To the Editor of the Magazine of American History: I think the origin of the phrase "Mind your p's and q's" (ix. 391) may be traced to the writing master, whose injunction so to do, in fair round hand, used to form one of the head lines in the copy-books some forty years ago, and may have been thus in use for hundreds of years.

Uneducated people often forget upon which side of the down stroke to place the half circle which distinguishes the p from the q.

Yours respectfully,

CHAS. H. WARD

193 Second Avenue, May 10, 1883.

MIND YOUR P's AND Q's (ix. 391)—This expression has reference to the old English pot-house custom of making charges for beer, the P standing for pint, and the Q for quart.

As any mistake on the part of the inn-keeper would probably be in his own favor, he was frequently requested to mind his P's and Q's.

ERMINNIE S.—

MIND YOUR P's AND Q's (ix. 391)—Mind your P's and Q's was the war cry of an early people when going into battle; P's meaning that the warrior should

"strike out" with his *Pike*, and Q's meaning, beware of the enemy's Pike in the rear, that it do not pierce your *Quarters*.

G. H.

May 22, 1883.

A SPECIMEN OF WELSH LITERATURE (ix. 389)—Editor of Magazine of American History: I ask information, not alone for myself, but for the benefit of many descendants of Welsh in this country, although I am the eighth eldest son in the regular succession, in this country, of a Welsh family which settled in Virginia 1607-1622. On page 389 (notes) of your excellent Magazine (of May, 1883) you give a specimen of Welsh Literature. In that connection I desire to ask whether or not there is, or has been, an English translation of the "Welsh Poetical Triads" ever published, either here or in England? I have never met with any such work, if such there be. Our Welsh ancestors (at home) persist in speaking their own language, and of following many of their ancient customs—especially in wearing apparel. I have often regretted that we have such meagre remains of Welsh Literature (in translation) accessible. No people, as far as I have observed, are more proud of their race than the ancient unconquered Britons, the Welsh! If your admirable publication, although bearing a title not purely literary, could induce some Welsh scholar to dig for some of the ancient Welsh Literature and Anglicize it, so that all English reading people might enjoy it and profit by it, you would confer a favor upon many of your numerous readers.

Very respectfully,

GLAMORGANSHIRE.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the monthly meeting, May 1, Messrs. Edmund A. Ward and George W. Miller were elected resident members. Resolutions of respect to the memory of the late Peter Cooper, an associate of the society since 1850, were reported from the executive committee, and adopted. The paper of the evening, on "The Impress of Nationalities upon the City of New York," was read by the Hon. James W. Gerard, in which he ably reviewed and analyzed the historical facts connected with his subject, tracing the various elements which have united in forming the character of the New York citizen of to-day. This he considered to consist chiefly of the distinctive qualities of the early Dutchman and Frenchman, superadded to those of the Anglo-Saxon from Old and New England, as the nucleus; the more recent European immigrants, notwithstanding the strange anomaly which exists in the Irish race's practical control of the political power, being of too late an introduction to make any impression on the general local character, and as yet forming a mixed population, wanting in that unity which consolidates public sentiment and impels its action. In the midst of the crime and pauperism incident upon this vast immigration, and the evils of political misrule, charity, hospitality and toleration were conspicuous, the religious exile and political refugee were welcomed, and a lofty spirit of enterprise and ambition, consonant with the character of the nation at large, was a prominent attribute.

Rev. Dr. DeCosta called the attention of the society to a large photograph in

four sections, which he had procured of the Majolla Map, in the Ambrosian Library, at Milan, and among other features to its elucidation of an interesting point in the "Verrazano discussion," in which the society had been prominently engaged, its date of 1527 and the name of "Francesca," given upon it to the northern part of North America, establishing that the latter was bestowed by Verrazano and not by Cartier, as had been claimed.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A monthly meeting of this society was held on the evening of the 15th May. President Isaac N. Arnold occupied the chair. A memorial tribute to the memory of the late Edward K. Rogers, a member of the society, was presented by Mr. E. H. Sheldon, and ordered to be placed on the society's records.

The librarian reported that during the month 53 bound volumes and 158 pamphlets had been presented to the society, and 22 volumes had been obtained by purchase from the "Pond Fund." Pamphlets and serials had been bound into 108 volumes. He furthermore stated that by a joint resolution of the State Legislature, now in session, the society is to receive two copies of each publication hereafter issued by the State, and, in case the State has duplicates of State or National publications, the society is to have a share of them contributed to it.

The president then introduced Mr. Edwin C. Larned, who read a paper on the Great Fire of Chicago in 1871. He dwelt upon the magnitude of the world's gener-

osity, and particularly described the manner in which the great charity was distributed among the sufferers.

Mr. Larned was thanked for his interesting paper, and an earnest request was made that he present a copy of the same to the society for publication. The meeting then adjourned.

LONDON STATISTICAL SOCIETY, LONDON, ENGLAND.—Mr. Robert Giffen, President of the London Statistical Society, in a recent address before that body, on the "Utility of Common Statistics," said that the broad fact presented by the United States is that of doubling of the population in periods of about 25 years. In other words, the population of the United States has multiplied itself by sixteen in the course of the century. The rate of increase is such as to be fairly bewildering in its probable consequences. The phenomenon is also without a precedent in history. The increase is not only unprecedented in mere numbers, but it is an increase of the most expensively living population that has ever been in the world. The fact has altered in the first place the whole idea of the balance of power of the European nations. A century ago the European nations in their political relations thought little but of each other. Now the idea of a new Europe on the other side of the Atlantic affects every speculation, however much the new people keep themselves aloof from European politics. The horizon has been enlarged, as it were, and the mere fact of the United States dwarfs and restrains the rivalries at home. European governments can no longer have the notion that they are playing the first part on the stage of the

world's political history. In another twenty-five years, at the same rate of increase, the population of the United States will be 100,000,000, in fifty years 200,000,000, in seventy-five years 400,000,000, and at the end of a century 800,000,000!

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The twentieth annual meeting of the Long Island Historical Society was held on the evening of May 15, at the Baptist church, Pierrepont and Clinton streets, opposite the society's building. The handsome edifice was thronged, and the audience was a cultured one. The Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs presided. Before the opening of the formal exercises of the evening, Mr. H. R. Shelley played the "Tannhauser March," of Wagner; Buck's "Barcarolle," and selections from Bizet's "Carmen," on the organ.

The report of the secretary was rendered interesting by a glance at the resources of the society and its twenty years' work. During the year many valuable books had been added to the library, and many valuable archæological and other specimens added to the museum. Numerous donations had been made to all the branches of the library. It was a special aim of the society to gather works of art, collect natural history specimens having special reference to Long Island, and to publish valuable unpublished manuscripts of various sorts. A brief history of the society was set forth in the report. A building fund had first been projected in 1871, but had fallen through "because Dr. Storrs was then away." In 1877 a better effort was made and was carried into effect. In October, 1878, operations on the site were begun. The work ad-

vanced rapidly, and in 1880 the building was completed. In January, 1881, it was formally occupied. The cost of the site and building amounted to \$153,709.72. Carpets, cases, etc., were not included in this figure. The society has an income of \$5,920, but with certain necessary deductions, there is left, \$4,530. The annual membership is 802 and the life membership 522. The secretary thought the membership should be enlarged, as an increase of income was desirable. The society must be kept abreast of the times or it would decay.

At the conclusion of the report a resolution was passed ordering that it be printed, after which Mr. Storrs introduced Mr. Hubert Herkomer, of London, who read an interesting paper on "Art, its Principles and Progress."

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The regular monthly meeting of the Georgia Historical society was held on the evening of May 7, in Hodgson Hall, and was largely attended. Hon. Henry R. Jackson, president of the society, presided.

It was announced that the Telfair legacy was ready to be delivered by the executors of the estate of the late Miss Telfair to the society, whereupon Gen. A. R. Lawton made a motion that the legacy be received and that a committee of five be at once appointed by the chair to devise a plan by which the munificent bequest could be most judiciously utilized for the benefit of the society. Before the motion was seconded, Mr. Bogart suggested that the question as to its disposition be submitted to the board of managers, who could report as the next regular or at a special meeting, and then, if necessary, the appointment of a committee, as moved by

Gen. Lawton, might follow if the managers so recommended.

Gen. Lawton remarked that he was willing to accept the suggestion made by Mr. Bogart, as a substitute, when the question was presented to the sense of the meeting and the substitute unanimously adopted.

The president requested those of the board of managers who were present to remain after adjournment.

The meeting then adjourned.

The Telfair legacy consists of the lot and building on the northwest corner of St. James square, between State and President and Barnard and Jefferson streets, together with all the property contained therein; also one thousand shares of stock in the Waynesboro and Augusta Railroad, valued at \$100,000, beside the interest thereon at the rate of 7 per cent., which has been accumulating since the demise of the testatrix.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The monthly meeting of the Oneida Historical society was held in its room in the Library Building, at Utica, New York, on the 8th of May. There was a good attendance. Vice-President Charles W. Hutchinson read a letter in reference to a gift from Mr. G. Swan to the society, and Mr. M. M. Jones donated a large number of pamphlets. Mr. North, from the committee appointed at the last meeting in reference to the proposed celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the formation of Oneida County on June 4, 1884, reported that the committee was warmly in favor of the celebration, and as there was plenty of time, thought a proper one could be arranged. The committee at its meeting adopted a resolution to the effect that the

celebration should be signalized by the unvailing of a memorial shaft in Whites-town, the home of the first settler. That would be better than the laying of a corner-stone. The committee also agreed that there should be literary exercises, consisting of dedicatory and historical addresses, and a poem, the whole to conclude with a collation, to be followed by brief reminiscences. The committee recommended the appointment of a general committee of arrangements, as follows :

Hon. Samuel Campbell, chairman ; Stuart Walcott, L. L. Wight, George Williams, Whitesboro ; George Graham, Oriskany ; R. U. Sherman, New Hartford ; W. S. Bartlett, Clinton ; John L. Dean, Westmoreland ; A. P. Case, Vernon ; A. O. Osborn, Waterville ; D. G. Dorrance, Camden ; Luther Guiteau, Trenton ; F. G. Weaver, Deerfield ; W. N. White, A. T. Goodwin, J. F. Seymour, C. W. Hutchinson, M. M. Jones, E. H. Roberts, D. C. Grove, Thomas Foster, T. S. Sayre, A. L. Woodruff, M. M. Bagg, Utica.

Gen. C. W. Darling, chairman of the committee of arrangements for the dedication of Fort Schuyler monument, on the 4th of July, 1883, reported that the civic and military authorities would participate in the ceremonies, and that the address would be delivered by Hon. Horatio Seymour. Utica may well feel proud in having within its precincts the historic grounds where once stood so famous a stronghold of revolutionary times. Fort Schuyler, built in 1758, was named after Col. Peter Schuyler, at one time chief in command of the New York Colony. The site is to be permanently preserved through the action of the Oneida Historical Society, and a foundation has already been

laid for the monument of granite soon to be erected. This portion of the work has been done at the expense of Hon. Charles W. Hutchinson, vice-president of the society.

KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The State Historical Society has received from Prof. M. M. Campbell, of North Topeka, a rare old book, on the subject of military tactics, of which the following is a copy of the title page :

"A New System of Military Discipline, Founded upon Principle. By a general officer. Philadelphia. Printed and sold by R. Aitkin, printer and bookseller, opposite the London coffee-house, Front street. MDCCLXXVI. Price, in boards, one dollar ; bound, ten shillings."

The name of the author of this book is not given ; but it was evidently written by an officer skilled in the profession of arms. It is a volume of 267 pages ; this volume being bound in boards. The book was no doubt prepared and published for the use of the army of the revolutionary war, which had, at the date of its publication, fairly opened. It is quite likely that the work had an extensive use and rendered no little service in the discipline of the army which achieved the work of establishing our national independence.

[F. G. Adams, Secretary of the Kansas Historical Society, at Topeka, requests information as to the authorship of the book mentioned above. Can any of our readers enlighten him ?—EDITOR.]

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—A monthly meeting was held on the 2d of May, in the afternoon, at three o'clock, at the society's house, 18 Somer-

set street, the president, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, Ph.D., in the chair.

Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, chairman of a committee to prepare resolutions on the death of Hugh Montgomery—a benefactor of the society during his life, who left it a bequest which has been received by the treasurer—reported the following:

“Resolved, That this society hereby places upon its records its deep sense of the loss it has sustained in the death of its late associate member, Hugh Montgomery, Esq., who, in his public and private relations, as a citizen, as a holder of important trusts, and as a friend, commands our highest esteem and respect; and we desire likewise to record our gratitude not only for his past benefactions, but for his testamentary bequest of \$500 to the treasury of this society.”

Remarks were made by the president and Rev. Dr. Cornell, and the resolution was unanimously adopted.

The corresponding secretary, Rev. Mr. Slafter, reported letters of acceptance from Waldo Higginson of Boston, Hon. Horace Davis of San Francisco, Charles F. Conant of Cambridge, Edward Stearns of Lincoln, and Samuel P. May of Newton, who had been elected resident members, and from Rev. Charles Hawley, D.D., of Auburn, N. Y., Silas Bent of St. Louis, Mo., and Charles C. Jones, L.L.D., of Augusta, Ga.

He also read a letter from Henry M. Baird of New York, inclosing a circular from the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, soliciting subscriptions to aid in the erection of a statue to Admiral Coligny. A translation of this circular was printed in the April number of the *Christian World*. “It seems,” writes Mr. Baird, “that it will be a grateful act

on the part of the American descendants of the Huguenots to take part in the erection of a monument to one whose achievements and glorious death have done more than those of any single man to make of the name invented as a derisive designation a badge of honor and respect.”

He next read a letter from Professor Henry G. Jesup, of Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., concerning the records of Rev. Paine Wingate, the pastor of the Second or West Congregational Church of Amesbury, now the Congregational Church of Merrimac, Mass., for about sixty years from his installation in 1726. Professor Jesup suggests that measures should be taken to print these records.

The corresponding secretary then announced, exhibited and described some of the more important donations.

William W. Wheildon, of Concord, being called upon by the president, addressed the society on the historical inaccuracy of the designs for the proposed statue of Paul Revere. Three of the designs presented to the committee in charge of the erection of that statue represent Revere on horseback, on the Charlestown side, looking for the signals from the church tower in Boston. Mr. Wheildon read an extract from the letter of Paul Revere, published in the fifth volume of the “Massachusetts Historical Collections,” the only authority we have on the subject, showing this was entirely wrong. Revere, after hearing of the intended embarkation of troops, gave the order for the signals to Conant to be made, and soon after was rowed to Charlestown, where he learned from Conant that the signals had been seen. It was not till after this that he obtained a horse and made his famous ride.

The president stated that the attention of the board of directors had been called to this subject by Mr. Wheildon, and that they concurred with him that false history should not be perpetuated by our monuments and statues, and had directed the secretary to remonstrate to the committee for the erection of the statue.

Rev. William C. Winslow read a paper entitled, "What Egypt says of Israel and the Exodus," in which he produced evidence of the truth of the Scripture narrative from Egyptian monuments, and the recent discoveries of explorers in that country; after which remarks were made by Rev. Dorus Clarke, D.D., Rev. Frederick W. Holland and George H. Allan, and the thanks of the society were voted to Mr. Winslow.

Rev. Increase N. Tarbox, D.D., the historiographer, reported memorial sketches of three deceased members—Peter Cooper, of New York, who died April 4, aged ninety-two; Holmes Ammidown, who died in St. Augustine, Fla., April 3, aged eighty-one; and Hugh Montgomery, a benefactor, who died March 13, aged eighty.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS—The semi-annual meeting of this society was held in Boston, in the rooms of the Historical Society, on Wednesday, April 28th.

The report of the Council was read by Col. John D. Washburn. It embraced the report of a committee appointed in March last to examine the library of the society. This examination has usually been a somewhat perfunctory one, reliance being placed on the reports of the librarian. In April, 1873, however, the committee, through its Chairman, Mr.

Nathaniel Paine, reported an actual examination, counting all the books and many of the unbound pamphlets, estimating the remainder, so as to be able to report over 53,000 volumes. It has increased steadily ever since, and now numbers about 80,000 volumes. All its departments have increased, and the library has made much progress.

The library has received its first additions under the will of Mr. Joseph J. Cooke, of Providence, which gave the society \$5,000 worth of books from his library to be purchased at auction. The first sale was in March last, and the report of the assistant librarian, Mr. Barton, is referred to for details.

The administration of the library is reported satisfactory, and the report announces Mr. Edmund M. Barton's advancement by the Council to the position of librarian. The building and rooms have been cared for, and the recent additions, through the munificence of President Salisbury, have made possible new arrangements for study and for access to the library. There are few places in the country where antiquarian and historical studies can be so agreeably carried on as here. Its advantages as a depository of historical material in the possession of members is again suggested, both on account of safety, and of the gain of bringing fragments together where they can be arranged in orderly method and with some approach to completeness.

The report emphasizes the importance of town and local histories, and their practical use, already shown in numerous important contributions to literature by students of this department of history.

The influence of the towns upon the highest phases of national life is evidenced

by reference to the recent deaths of several noted men, all of whom were reared under the influence of New England town organizations. The late Abbott Lawrence and the late Nathaniel Thayer are conspicuous examples, and the late Rev. George Allen and Hon. Isaac Davis, LL.D., both of this city, and Hon. Holmes Ammidown, of New York, are also illustrations. Of Rev. Mr. Allen the report says: "Nothing could be more simple and unostentatious than his whole life and character." Mr. Barton, the Librarian, reported the accessions during the last six months to be, by gift, exchange and binding, 1,886 books, 4,196 pamphlets, 166 volumes of newspapers, 26 lithographs, 10 maps, etc. At the first sale of the Cooke Library, last month, from which the society is entitled to purchase \$500 worth of books without charge, about one-fifth of that amount was expended, which secured 442 books, some of which are quite rare and valuable. Attention was called to the society's cabinet of curiosities, and the suggestion made that some of its perishable material be transferred to societies more directly interested in their collection and preservation.

Mr. Samuel S. Green read a valuable paper, entitled "Gleanings from the Sources of History of the Second Parish, Worcester, Mass."

Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis, of San Francisco, a son of the late Governor John Davis, of Worcester, read an exhaustive paper on the Journey of Moncacht-Apé. The paper was called forth by an article in the *Revue d'Anthropologie*, calling attention to a work published in Paris, in 1758, called *Histoire de la Louisiane*, by M. Le Page du Pratz. The

latter was a Frenchman who spent a number of years in the beginning of the eighteenth century in Louisiana, and there collected much concerning Indian traditions of their own origin and religion. These were embodied in his history, and among them was a story told him by a Yazoo Indian, Moncacht-Apé, of a journey he made as a young man to the far Northwest, and of his experiences there. The ostensible object of the journey was to learn of the origin of his people; for a similar purpose he visited tribes in the vicinity of the Great Lakes, where he saw the Falls of Niagara.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Special meetings of the society for the reading of papers, and for the discussion of historical topics, at the Library Hall, City Building, Portland, Me., Friday, 25th of May, 1883, at 2:30 and 7:30 P.M. The President, Hon. James Bradbury, of Augusta, Me., in the chair.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA—Second annual session at Ottawa, May 22, 1883, occupying three days. This society numbers about eighty of the best writers and thinkers in the Dominion. Among the leading kindred societies represented by delegates at the meeting, taking part in the discussions and exercises, the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec; the Historical Societies of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, and Montreal; the Geographical Society of Quebec; the Natural History Society of Montreal, the Ontario Entomological Society, the Ottawa Field Naturalist Club, *L'Institut Canadien*, of Ottawa; the Natural Academy of Sciences, U. S., and the British Association of Science of England.

BOOK NOTICES

OUTLINES OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY LUTHER HENRY PORTER. New York:

Henry Holt & Co., 1883. 12mo, pp. xii, 311.

This unpretentious but exceptionally useful work reviews the main features of the government of the United States, as they exist in absolute history. It is divided into three parts, the first embracing an account of the forms of government before the Revolution, with charts to enable the reader to classify and correct his impressions, and to give the student basis for further study; the second explaining the reason for the nature of the different clauses of the Constitution; the third sketching the brief events of our political history. The author tells us in his preface that the work is elementary, purely; but that for the general reader or for high school purposes it probably covers sufficient ground. He does not claim that it is a "constitutional history," in the full meaning of the term. His object has been to point the way to extended study by showing what is of first importance to the scholar; and he incorporates in the text the political documents which every student of our history should know and thoroughly understand. The grouping of the material in the third division is admirable. Federal supremacy covers the period from 1789-1801; republican supremacy from 1801-1825; federal republicanism from 1825-1829; modern democracy from 1829-1861; civil war and its consequences from 1861-1881.

One of the specially interesting portions of the work relates to the articles of Confederation. The author says, "According to that instrument, the Union was to be a league of friendship, a confederation between 'sovereign' States. A Congress, in which the States should have equal voice, was to manage their general interests. To this Congress were delegated most of the rights of sovereignty. But no means were given it by which it could execute its powers. It could only advise the States, and send them in its suggestions, and they, if they chose, could ignore them. * * * The confederation was intrusted with sovereign rights, but lacked the vital principle of sovereignty—it possessed no power to enforce its rights. The State retained all the means by which powers could be executed. * * * It could contract debts, but could not guarantee their payment; it could make treaties, but could not put them in operation; it possessed neither executive nor judiciary; it could only legislate and advise; it could not enforce its legislation, nor make its advice respected. After peace was declared, that slender respect which had been shown to Congress, as the organ of the confederation, almost ceased. The States resumed the separate and individual existence which they had

possessed before the war, and tendencies to disunion grew stronger. The outlook seemed hopeless."

The work is written in a clear, concise, and engaging style, and is readable throughout. It is a hand-book of information that should go into every school and college and household in the land. Its value as a work of reference is greatly enhanced by an Appendix, comprehending a series of tables, giving the names (and date of service) of each President of the Continental Congress, of the Congress of the Confederation, and of the United States; also, of the Vice-Presidents, and of the members of each President's cabinet, of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and of the Speakers of the House of Representatives. It contains furthermore the table of dates of admission into the Union of the several States; and another table giving the votes in all our Presidential elections. We commend the book heartily.

RETROSPECT OF A LONG LIFE (FROM 1815 TO 1883). BY S. C. HALL, F. S. A.

A man of letters by profession. 1 vol. 8vo, pp. 612. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1883.

These personal recollections will entertain and deeply interest a great variety of readers. Mr. Hall was a parliamentary reporter for one of the London newspapers as early as 1823, and has ever since lived by his pen. He writes almost entirely from memory, having kept no journal of any kind. He was born in the year 1800, and at the time of the death of George III. was a very young man. The volume is so arranged that topics can easily be consulted by those who do not care to read the whole work. The chapters are divided by sharp lines, and each paragraph has a side head. The author describes the coaches of the early part of the century, giving us some curious incidents concerning them, and tells us about the Sedan Chair, which took its name from the town of Sedan in France. "Far into my time," he says, "they were the usual modes of conveyance for ladies and gentlemen going to parties, balls, assemblies, or the theatre, and were also employed in making calls, or 'going shopping.' The well-to-do had their own; those who had them not could hire them; and at night they were accompanied by linkboys carrying burning torches. It was, literally, the body of a carriage, just large enough to hold one person comfortably, without wheels, and was carried on poles passed through loops or staples, by two men—one in front, the other behind. The door was in front, and the vehicle was so constructed that the top would lift up by means of

hinges." Mr. Hall introduces us to the early English newspapers, and we see through his eyes the "Factory Slaves." Whatever may be the national evils of the present time, it is a happy thought that the laws of England have removed this foul blot of child-slavery. There were days when children under ten years labored from early morn until late at night at tasks that killed them off before manhood or womanhood was reached. In the Yorkshire collieries these miserable little beings crawled along passages that sometimes were not more than two feet high, dragging trucks of coal by a chain attached to a girdle that went round their half-naked bodies, and often wore away the skin. Mr. Hall's memories also reach backward to the time when the pillory was one of the barbarous engines of punishment. He says, "I have seen men in the pillory; men flogged at the cart's tail; men in the stocks, often. The Ducking-Stool was another mode of punishment, the use of which comes within my personal recollections. It was a heavy, cumbersome kind of wooden chair, in which the culprit was fastened by pinioning with bars or cords, or both. Sometimes the chair was attached to the end of a beam that would turn round on a pivot, over a pond or river, or even a mill-dam; at others it was suspended by a chain, so that it could be let down or raised at will; and in others it was placed on wheels so as to run down into the water. Whatever the form of the instrument, the punishment was the same—and that was forcible immersion. The delinquent, being firmly fixed in the chair, was ducked over head and heels in the water three or four times, and was often brought out nearly—sometimes literally—dead."

Mr. Hall's description of parliamentary reporting will interest all readers. He was always proud of the calling, which infers, he says, "a large amount of resolute labor, physical endurance, a ready aptitude, an early and sound education, familiar acquaintance with public events, a retentive memory, and extensive reading. There is but little responsibility, and the work is liberally paid for. It is by no means easy for men of letters, before they become conspicuous, to get so much for so little labor in other fields." "Taxes on knowledge," shifts in the olden time to avoid postage, and the inspiration out of which arose "the penny postage," are among the numerous topics treated. Mr. Hall was, in 1839—the time when the project of the penny postage was first agitated—editing the *Britannia* newspaper, and gave to Rowland Hill the heartiest sympathy; who, indeed, from the day of his victory lived forty years, and had the happiness of seeing all his opponents convinced, all his hopes in relation to post-office improvements verified, all his predictions more than fulfilled.

Mr. Hall gives us a series of pen portraits of public characters and authors. He was present in the House of Commons in 1823 on the occasion of the memorable duel of words between

George Canning and his great rival, Brougham. He knew Sir Robert Peel and John Singleton Copley, Lord Lyndhurst, who was an American by birth, and who in his eighty-eighth year spoke for an hour in the House of Lords. Sir James Scarlett, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, he describes as "a portly person, with the face of a young girl—florid, but not red; looking as if he had never burned a night-lamp, but was made prosperous by acting up to the lessons taught in those days,

"Early to bed and early to rise," etc.

Lord Lytton, Lord Beaconsfield, the Prince Consort, Coleridge, the Gillmans, where Coleridge dwelt, Rev. Edward Irving, George Crabbe, Charles Lamb, Robert Southey, Harriet Martineau, Felicia Hemans, Thomas Hood, Catherine Sinclair, Thomas Moore, Maria Edgeworth, Thomas Carlyle, Lady Blessington, Fredericka Bremer, Jeremy Bentham, Leigh Hunt, Hannah Moore, and our own Longfellow, Hawthorne, Washington Irving, Fenimore Cooper, N. P. Willis, and Mrs. Sigourney are among the many whom Mr. Hall brings back to the flesh in terse and enticing paragraphs. The book is eminently readable and companionable—one that can be opened at any page and in any idle hour, and found at once informing and absorbing.

ANCESTRAL SKETCHES. AND RECORDS OF OLDEN TIMES. For private circulation only. MRS. WILLIAM P. VAN RENSSELAER. 8vo, pp. 375. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph.

In the beautiful volume before us, we find an account of the Huguenots; of the Bayards of New York; of Nicholas Bayard (who was mayor of New York in 1685, and also one of the Governor's Council) and his troublous times; of the "Tories in the American Revolution;" of the growth of New York; of Governor-General Vetch, of Nova Scotia; of Governor Fitch, of Connecticut, and his times; and of the Life and services of General Stephen Van Rensselaer. The author says, "Beyond a doubt, in this country, 'Old things are passed away.' Difficult it is, even now, to collect and recall events that were of such vital interest to our ancestors of two or three hundred years ago, or fully to understand the motives that actuated them. Things of the moment seem almost forgotten; and even fifty years hence, with our changes and fluctuations, matters may fare worse with us. American names of old families may be almost (as they often are now) forgotten. New races, new holders of the soil, perhaps a new language, a new theology, a new form of government, a new order of things generally, may have become the outgrowth of things that *now* are. Every decade or so, whether in State or in family,

should have its historian, for the sake of later generations.

Mrs. Van Rensselaer's work has been a labor of love, and will be a priceless treasure indeed to all later generations. It is charmingly written, is filled with information of the most interesting character, and the arrangements of subjects and general constructions of the whole are in admirable taste. It contains so much of interest to the reading public in general, as well as to the families more nearly concerned, that we regret the limit placed upon its circulation by its accomplished and conscientious author.

IRISH HISTORY.—AN OUTLINE OF IRISH HISTORY. FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. BY JUSTIN H. MCCARTHY. New York: Harper's Franklin Square Library.

This is a work which will be widely read. It is written in a spirited and vigorous style, and possesses a charm not inferior to the best historical productions of the century. The author is devoted to Ireland, and gives us the view from his own standpoint. At the same time he pushes to no serious extremes. He commences with the early legends:—

"As we peer doubtfully into the dim past of Irish history we seem to stand like Odysseus at the yawning mouth of Hades. The thin shades troop about us, and flit hither and thither fitfully in shadowy confusion. Stately kings sweep by in their painted chariots. Yellow-haired heroes rush to battle shaking their spears and shouting their war-songs, while the thick gold torques rattle on arm and throat, and their many-colored cloaks stream on the wind. They sweep by and are lost to sight, and their places are taken by others in a shifting, splendid, confused pageant of monarchs and warriors, and beautiful women for whose love the heroes are glad to die and the kings to peril their crowns; and among them all move the majestic, white-robed bards, striking their golden harps and telling the tales of the days of old, and handing down the names of heroes forever."

The two first chapters conduct the reader as far as the Norman Conquest. By this time Ireland was divided into four confederations of tribes. In the wild north, O'Neil, O'Donnel, O'Kane, O'Hara, O'Sheel, and O'Carroll were mighty names. All Ireland, with the exception of a few seaport towns where the Danes had settled, was in the hands of Irish chiefs of old descent and famous lineage. They quarreled among themselves as readily and as fiercely as if they had been the heads of so many Greek States.

"The whole story of Irish subjugation and its seven centuries of successive struggles begins with the carrying off of Devorgilla, wife of Tiernan O'Rorke, of Brefny, by a dissolute, brutal giant

some sixty years old—Dermot Macmurrough, King of Leinster. We have a curious picture of him preserved in the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis, who knew him, and who was the first historian of the Irish invasion. 'Dermot was a man of tall stature and great body; a valiant and bold warrior in his nation. By constant hallooing and crying out his voice had become hoarse. He chose to be feared rather than loved; oppressed his nobility greatly, but greatly supported and advanced the poor and weak. To his own kindred he was rough and grievous, and hateful to strangers; he would be against all men, and all men were against him.' Such was the man who found the fair wife of the Lord of Brefny a willing victim. Alexander the Great was pleased to fancy that in ravaging the countries of the Great King he was still avenging the ancient quarrel for the rape of Helen. But Helen was not more fatal to Greeks and Easterns than Devorgilla, Erin's Helen, proved to the neighboring islands that lie along the Irish Sea. Through ages of bloodshed and slaughter her country has indeed bled for her shame. There is a grim ironic mockery in the thought that two nations have been set for centuries in the bitterest hatred by the loves of a lustful savage and an unfaithful wife."

Mr. McCarthy touches all the various questions, some of them rather lightly, which have through the rolling years excited the indignation and the sympathy of the world.

In reference to the melancholy chronicles of Irish misery, and the incessant confiscations and settlements of Irish soil, he says:—

"Perhaps Ireland was the only country in the world in which a man had nothing to gain by improving the land he lived upon. If he improved it, he was certain in nine cases out of ten to have his rent raised upon him as a reward for his labor. He was absolutely at the mercy, or rather the want of mercy, of his landlord, whom he perhaps had never seen; for many of the landlords were absentees, living out of Ireland on the money they took from the country. The Irish peasant's misery did not pass altogether unnoticed. Ever since the Union, select committees had again and again reported the distress in the fullest manner. Too often the report was left to lie in bulky oblivion upon the dusty shelves of state libraries, or was answered by a coercive measure. No attempt was made for many years to feed the famished peasant or to relieve the evicted tenant. Legislation only sought to make sure that while their complaints were unheeded their hands should be stayed from successful revenge. The greatest concession that government made for many generations to the misery of the Irish tenant was to pass an act prohibiting evictions on Christmas Day and Good Friday, and enacting that the roof of a tenant's house should not be pulled off until the inmates had left."

THE QUAKER INVASION OF MASSACHUSETTS. BY RICHARD P. HALLOWELL. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 12mo, pp. 226. 1883.

The object of the author, as stated in the preface to the little volume before us, is to correct popular fallacies and to assign to the Quakers their true place in the early history of Massachusetts. He describes the transition period when Parliament turned aside from the consideration of state affairs to discuss questions of religion, when the spirit of controversy seemed to possess all classes, when sects grew and multiplied, and when fanaticism manifested itself in whippings, scourging, mutilation of the bodies of offenders, in long imprisonments—some men and women living for years in noisome and filthy jails—and in the confiscation and destruction of property. Weak minds were often unhinged, and men of strong intellects and apparently sober judgment, defended and even committed excesses, both in speech and action, that to us, seem ridiculous and incredible. After noting the rise, progress and sufferings of the Quakers in Great Britain, Mr. Hallowell gives a concise account of their experience in Massachusetts. He says, "the early Quakers, or some of them, in common with the Puritans, may illustrate some of the least attractive characteristics of their time; but they were abreast, if not in advance, of the foremost advocates of religious and civil freedom. They were more than advocates; they were the pioneers, who by their heroic fortitude, patient suffering, and persistent devotion rescued the old Bay Colony from the jaws of the certain death to which the narrow and mistaken policy of the bigoted and sometimes ingenious founders had doomed it. The religion of the Society of Friends is still in active force, leaving its full share of influence upon our civilization."

The appendix contains, in addition to Puritan laws and other documents already published by the State, some very interesting evidence never before published, and much material which, while it may be familiar to students who have made the subject one of special inquiry, will be both new and instructive to the general reader.

MEMORIAL OF ROBERT MILHAM HARTLEY. EDITED BY HIS SON, REV. ISAAC SMITHSON HARTLEY, D.D. Printed for private distribution. Press of Curtis & Childs, Utica, New York, 1882. 1 vol. 8vo. 550 pages.

It was fitting that a gifted son, himself a leading clergyman of the Reformed Church of America, should have prepared, for permanent preservation, the memorials of an honored father, whose life, extending over a period of eighty-six years, has been so thoroughly identified with

church and charity in New York. Dr. Hartley prefaces his beautiful volume with the modest announcement that its production was a loving labor, undertaken and executed at the request of and for the benefit of the immediate family circle. He tells us, furthermore, that his duty has been chiefly that of arrangement and compilation, rather than of original composition: and as we turn over the leaves we find with what a skillful hand and in what admirable taste he has allowed his father's own pen to tell the story of a singularly interesting and useful career. The book is as readable as it is instructive. The subject of the memorial kept a daily record of the events of interest to him, and especially to those relating to his own inner life. These manuscripts proved of great value to his biographer, who has used them lavishly and wisely. Robert Milham Hartley was born in England, but came to this country with his parents when only three years of age. He descended from a long line of theologians and philanthropists, his great-great-grandfather being the eminent Reverend Vicar of Armley. Of the same family were David Hartley, the famous author and metaphysician (born 1705, died 1752), whose talents were specially directed to the moral and religious sciences, and his son, David Hartley, M. P., who signed for England the Definite Treaty of Peace. The grandmother of Mr. Hartley was the granddaughter of Sir Hugh Smithson, Baronet; she was the cousin of Lord Percy, afterward Duke of Northumberland, one of the British officers of note in the campaigns of the American Revolution—and of James Smithson, who founded the Smithsonian Institute at Washington. Mr. Hartley was classically educated, but resigned studies for the ministry because of impaired health. His fondness, however, for intellectual pursuits and his religious training and tendencies shaped his career of beneficence. He engaged in active business, but was not satisfied to live so exclusively for mere secular objects as to overlook his duty to others. For a period of sixty years he was identified with whatever demanded the attention of the Christian and the reformer. He was one of the foremost in the temperance movement, in both city and State; he made war upon impure milk until a great public good was achieved; and he was instrumental in founding charitable institutions, almost without number, now in noiseless and successful operation. The session of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, where he had been a ruling elder for nearly half a century, on the occasion of his death placed the following upon its minutes: "Having a singular faculty for organization, Mr. Hartley originated the plans which, in their maturity, are the basis of institutions, conferring untold blessings upon multitudes of the poor, the sick, and the friendless; and he was a colleague and coadjutor with those wealthy philanthropists, who were ever ready to supply the funds needed to

carry forward or consummate his schemes of benevolence." He was one of the chief founders and managers of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, in 1842, and its secretary for many decades. His published reports number thirty-four volumes, forming a complete library in the department of social and economical science, and are quoted by writers on similar themes in all parts of the world. He was a contributor to the press, his essays always characterized by clearness of expression and great force and beauty of diction. On the problem of pauperism he wrote to the *London Times*: "We must take human nature as we find it; and I think most men of extended experience will agree with me that it is by exercising the most minute and careful discrimination we shall alone meet the problem of pauperism. What is wanted now is men, not money; intelligent, self-denying men, who will investigate; not big guns to lead subscription lists."

It is to be regretted that Dr. Hartley's scholarly and exceptionally interesting memorial volume is intended for private circulation alone, as it is a most valuable contribution to historical as well as biographical literature, and should be in the hands of all students of New York's growth and greatness.

MAN BEFORE METALS. By N. JOLLY, Professor at the Science Faculty of Toulouse; correspondent of the Institute. With one hundred and forty-eight illustrations. 12mo, pp. 365. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1883.

This work offers an exceptionally rich table of contents to the scientist and the antiquarian. The first part treats of the antiquity of the human race, divided into sections: I. The pre-historic Ages; II. The Work of Boucher de Perthes; III. The Bone Caves; IV. The Peat Mosses and the Kitchen Middens; V. The Lake Dwellings and the Nuraghi; VI. Burial Places; VII. Pre-historic Man in America; VIII. Man of the Tertiary Epoch; IX. The Great Antiquity of Man. The author says: "It matters little whether man has inhabited the earth for 100,000 years, as a well-known geologist maintains, or for as many centuries as others are inclined to think. But from the results of our researches, and from discoveries whose authenticity has been proved by the strictest examination, we can now draw conclusions of immense value, and of which the certainty can no longer be denied."

The second part of the work is devoted to Primitive Civilization. The author begins with domestic life, and the legendary origin of fire. He describes, with illustrations, methods of early friction by which sparks were produced. Fire presided at the birth of nearly every art, or quickened its progress. The food and the cook-

ing of pre-historic man furnish a chapter of curious interest. We learn how the dwellers in caves baked their bread—between two red-hot stones—and of the primitive beverages of mankind. Clothing and trinkets receive attention, and the industries are discussed with generous attention to details. Primitive warfare and agriculture, domestic animals, origin of cultivated plants, of the canoe, and of navigation, of ships of war and of commerce, of the arts of design, of early engraving, carving, painting, and music, are among the many topics presented with abundant information for the reader. The author says in relation to the origin of speech, "Language must have appeared on earth simultaneously with man;" and in relation to the origin of writing, "Man is born a draughtsman or a sculptor, just as he is born a poet or a musician." Instinctive religious ideas, modes of worship, amulets, cannibalism and human sacrifice, bring the instructive volume to a close.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. COMPILED BY NATHANIEL PAINE. Press of Charles Hamilton, Worcester, Massachusetts, 1883.

A Partial Index to the Proceedings of the society, from its foundation in 1812 to 1880, has been prepared by Stephen Salisbury, Jr., to which it seemed advisable to add a list of all the publications from the first-named date to April, 1883. This list is now published in a separate form for the convenience of those not desiring the volume containing the "Partial Index." Many of the pamphlets mentioned herein are out of print, and of others but few remain in the possession of the society. Prices have been affixed to such as can now be supplied, but of several the number is very limited. The more prominent of the publications are the six volumes of the "*Archæologia Americana*," the first of which was published in 1820, at the expense of Isaiah Thomas, the founder and first president of the society.

In order to render this publication more complete, a list of the reprints from the "Proceedings" has been added, and includes all such publications as have come to the notice of the compiler.

ANNOUNCEMENT.—The July number of the Magazine will contain the third and final illustrated paper of the series "Wall Street in History," by the Editor, which will deal with scenes and events within the memory of the living. The publication of the ORIGINAL SECRET RECORD OF PRIVATE INTELLIGENCE, belonging to Sir Henry Clinton in the Revolution, will, it is expected, be commenced in the August number of the Magazine.

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